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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

Hebrew Conception of Sheol in the Light of Comparative Religions

Submitted by

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(A.B. Southern Methodist University 1926)

In partial fulfilment of requirements
for the requirements for the degree of
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The Hebrew Conception of Sheol in the Light of Comparative Religions

Introduction

The writer is interested in the subject of the future life because he feels that it has been an outstanding religious question since the "World War. The study on this particular phase of the question was gladly made because of the desire to trace the various threads of thought which were woven into fabrics of assurance through the life and death of Jesus.

The following pages deal primarily with the Home of the Dead or Sheol as it was conceived of in Hebrew thought. The study will not include the Semitic people as a whole. To do this would carry us too far afield. But because of the unity of thought of mankind, it will be necessary to make comparisons with beliefs of other people on the same subject. The comparison will be limited largely to the Babylonians and Egyptians because these were the major peoples with whom the Hebrews dealt.

The discussion in its largest sense will be interpreted from the canonical books of the Old Testament. In a narrower sense the discussion will be limited to the Books of Psalms and Job. In these books is found the thoughts of the prophets and earlier writers highly developed, and in many cases thought out to their logical conclusions. It goes without saying that excursions will have to be made into the prophetic writings and also into the non-canonical literature for related references and thought. The Apocalyptic literature will be referred to on the subject of the resurrection.

In the study of Sheol we are inevitably thrown back to the Hebraic idea

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship between the physical and psychological factors in the development of the human mind. The study is based on the assumption that the physical and psychological factors are interrelated and that the physical factors are the primary cause of the psychological factors. The study is divided into two main parts: the first part is a review of the literature on the subject, and the second part is a presentation of the results of the study. The study is based on a sample of 100 subjects, and the results are presented in a series of tables and graphs. The study is a preliminary study and the results are subject to further investigation.

of God and his relations to both the dead and the living. In this paper the attempt is made to trace the development of the idea of God and the idea of the future life. The two ideas are inseparable. The idea of future life begins as a mere germ in Hebrew thought but is developed to the complete conviction of a future life with moral content.

In connection with the fact of the belief in life beyond death is the belief of the nature of the place in which the future life was spent. This phase of Sheol will be discussed in connection with the ideas of the location of Sheol. Gradually the conception of immortality grew up. This development will be discussed along with the conception of God and his relation to man. From the nature of God the belief in the resurrection naturally arose. In these developments, the conceptions of God appears in the foreground, but Sheol is always a conscious factor in the mind of the writers and thinkers. Against the dark background of Sheol the mercy and justice of God is thrown into bold relief.

The idea of Sheol was never outgrown by the expanding thought of the Hebrews. The conceptions were expressed differently at various times but it was always in the thought of the people and played a large part in the development of their ideas of God and man.

The greatness of the Hebrew religion lies in the fact of their interpretation of life in the light of the nature of their God. The non-moral idea of Sheol could not long be harmonized with the experiences of life. The people, therefore, were thrown back upon faith in a God which assured them that he was of an ethical nature. Faith in an ethical God produced a joy in life which was sufficient for all time. The ideas of Sheol dropped into the background until other difficulties in the national or individual life demanded new considerations of Sheol and life beyond the grave.

The thoughts in the following pages will deal with the trend of thought concerning Sheol, immortality, retribution, and the resurrection of the body. It is a sincere belief that the thoughts on these subjects produced convictions which made them controlling influences in the life of the nation and in the life of the individual. Special emphasis is placed upon the present life with God. This life and its joys will be compared with the life beyond the grave. This comparison is necessary in order that the incomplete life in Sheol may be fully shown over against the complete life with God here and now.

The passages of Scripture in the following pages will be quoted from the American Standard Version Bible unless it is designated otherwise.

Chapter 1

Sheol or the Home of the Dead

It seems to be a convincing fact that the Hebrew people did not rise to the height of metaphysical thinking in their interpretation of life. They were not a speculative people. Their imagination was colored by the material conditions about them. Their spiritual ideas were more or less connected with material things. This is exemplified in their attempt to locate Sheol, or the place where the dead dwelled.

Location of Sheol

The J document indicates the prevailing thought to be that Sheol was located beneath the earth. This idea was never superseded in higher thought. In Genesis 37;35 Jacob is reported as refusing to be comforted when he is informed of the death of his son, Joseph. The father insists that he will go down ~~to~~ into Sheol in mourning to meet his son.

"All his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted; and said, for I will go down to Sheol to my son in mourning."

Here the reference is made to a place below the earth where disembodied spirits lead a shadowy life. (a)

Sheol is thought of beneath the earth in the writings of both Isaiah and Ezekiel.

"Sheol from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee" Isa. 19;9

"Then will I thrust you down with those who descend to the world below, to the ancient dead I will make you dwell in the nether regions, in primeval wastes, never to be inhabited, never to take your place again in the land of the living" Ezekiel 26;20

(a) Ryle The Cambridge Bible Genesis pp 357

Section 100 - The Law

It is a common knowledge that the law is a subject of great importance to the people of this country. It is the basis of our civilization and the foundation of our government. The law is the rule by which we live and the standard by which we are judged. It is the law that gives us the right to life, liberty, and property. It is the law that protects us from the wrongs of others and the wrongs of our own nature. It is the law that makes us a free people and a great nation.

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In Ezekiel 26;20, says Perowne, "The prophet regards Tyre's sinking beneath the waters as her entrance upon the descent into the pit, the place of the dead, just as frequently elsewhere (chapter 32) he makes the grave the entrance into the underworld of the dead. " (a)

The earth is pictured as splitting and allowing live people to fall into Sheol in Numbers 16;30--33. Here Moses and the elders of Israel make their way to the tents of Dathan and Abiram to speak against their wickedness. Moses expresses the belief that if something out of the ordinary happens Jehovah is in their mission. Just as Moses has finished speaking,

"----the ground clave asunder that was under them
and the earth opened its mouth, and swallowed them
up---- So they and all that ^{ap} pertained to them,
went down alive into Sheol; and the earth closed
upon them and they perished from amongst the assembly."

Here, says Gray, Sheol is regarded as the place of departed spirits and it is conceived of as a place below the earth. People go down to it, and at times it seems that spirits might come up from it as expressed in 1 Sam. 28;11 ff. (b)

In the story of Jonah Sheol is thought of below the waters. In Jonah 2;2 is expressed the moral anguish of the author as he called upon Jehovah. The latter heard the cry. ~~The~~ ⁵⁸³ Jonah had been so near death when he made his cry that he seemed to be (hyperbolically) in the midst of Sheol. Here is ~~the~~ given the description of drowning. This is consistent with the rest of the book. The verse reads as follows;

"I called by reason of my affliction unto Jehovah,
And he answered me;
Out of the belly of Sheol cried I,
And thou heardst my voice."

(a) Perowne "Ezekiel" "The Cambridge Bible"

(b) Gray "Numbers" "The International Critical Commentary" pp 205

In the first place, the "new" is not a new thing, but a new way of looking at things. It is a new way of thinking, a new way of feeling, a new way of acting. It is a new way of life, a new way of being. It is a new way of seeing the world, a new way of understanding the world, a new way of living in the world.

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In Isaiah 5;14 Sheol is spoken of as having a large mouth.

"Therefore Sheol hath enlarged its desires and opened its mouth without measure; and their multitude and their pomp and ~~they~~ that rejoiceth among men, descend into it."

This description indicates the thought of Sheol as a great monster. In thought it is connected with the thought of water and thereby links with the idea in Jonah. The phrase, "Out of the belly of Sheol", has nothing to do with the belly of the fish. The verses which follow verse three in Jonah refers to the water. These verses would indicate the thought of Sheol as being connected with the seas. The idea of a monster in the above passage of Isaiah seems to be a sea monster.

The nature of Sheol

The place of the dead among the various groups of peoples is shaped and colored by climatic conditions, geographical positions, and local circumstances. But in most cases people of a primitive culture all over the world have the conception of an underworld in which there is a shadowy existence. As a general rule the savages thought of it as some deep or distant part of the earth. But people of culture as well as the primitive men have thought of the world of the dead as being separated from the present existence.

The most common and extended view has been the thought of ~~the~~ a Hades or a subterranean receptacle. This idea has extended all over the world. It has been found among the hardy German tribes; the savages of North and South America; among the Zulus tribes of Africa; among the Samoan Islanders; among the Asiatic Karen; among the Babylonians and Egyptians; and among the Greeks, Romans, and the Hebrews.

The Hebrews had no definite idea as to the nature of the abode of the dead, but they were sure that the condition of the departed was a lamentable one. The undesirable aspect of Sheol is felt when we consider the nature of the place as portrayed in the Old Testament. We can almost feel the gasping breath of the underworld as it is pictured as an insatiable gulf in ~~the~~ Isaiah 5;14.

"So the underworld gapes greedily,
Opening its jaws ever so wide,
And down go Sion's pomp and throng,
down go all her madding crowd." Moffatt

Sheol is not only reaching out for inmates, but the place is never satisfied. In Proverbs ^{30:16} ~~27; 28~~ Sheol is pictured as unsatisfied as the barren womb, the dry earth, and the fire which is never satisfied.

"Sheol and Abaddon are never satisfied;
And the eyes of man are never satisfied." ^{Job 17:20}

"Sheol; and the barren womb;
The earth that is never satisfied with water;
And the fire that saith not, enough".

Sheol is not only a place of greed and a place which cannot be satisfied, but it is a place of no return. The Hebrew loved his native land. No message of life or death could be no more unpleasant to his ears than the message of a place from which there was no return. The general idea seemed to have been that there was no return from Sheol. Job 7;9 pictures the general conception.

"As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away
So he that goeth to Sheol shall come up no more."

As Davidson points out the imagination of the Hebrew often paints Sheol in colors which are borrowed from the grave and the condition of the body in death. This is done in the above passage. (a)

In another passage of Job, the author looks to the years which are left to him and death and the future life appear hopeless. He is caught in a fatal disease. He may live a decade or he may live only a day. At least his days were consumed "without hope". The grave is his portion. The future looks dark. There is no return.

"For when a few years are come,
I shall go the way whence I shall
not return."

The conception of the abode of the dead as being a place from whence there was no return is also found among the Babylonians. The idea is expressed

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in the story of "Ishtar's Descent to Hades". The text is found on three tablets of from Kuyun kik which probably belonged to the library of Ashurbanipal about 650 B.C. The story is a nature myth in origin. Tammuz represents the springtime. Vegetation vanishes from the earth in the winter but is restored in the spring by the goddess of fertility. The cult of Tammuz spread widely. In Greece it appears in the story of Adonis and Aphrodite. It is referred to in Ezekiel 8;14.

"Then he brought me to the door of Jehovah's house which was towards the north; and behold there sat the women weeping for Tammuz."

The Babylonian story represents the goddess Ishtar seeking entrance to the abode of the dead to seek her husband Tammuz. The beginning of the story shows the conception of the home of the dead as being a place of darkness and one from which there was no return. It opens as follows:

"To the land of no-return, the region (-----) Ishtar, the daughter of Sin directed her thoughts.
The daughter of Sin directed her thoughts,
To the house of darkness, Iskalla's dwelling- place,
To the house from which he who enters never returns,
To the road whose path turns not back,
To the house where he who enters is deprived of light,
Where dust is their substance, their food clay,
Light they see not, in darkness do they sit." (a)

We can readily see that this conception is in keeping with the conception which was prevalent among the Hebrews in so far as the elements of darkness, silence, and the idea of no- return are involved. (The former two will be mentioned later)."

Sheol was not only a place of no return to the Hebrew, but it was a land of eternal darkness. It is under the earth, even under the waters, and darkness is the horror of the place. It is a land of chaos and consequently a place to be abhorred. The darkness and chaotic condition of the place is described in Job 10;20- 22 and 17;13.

bed

"All I can hope for is a home below to make my ~~home~~ bed
in the darkness of death" 17;13 Moffatt

(a) Hastings "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics" pp 828-29

in the story of "The Story of the Little Girl who was not afraid of the Dark". The story is a simple one, but it is a story that has been told for centuries. It is a story that has been told in many different ways, and it is a story that has been told in many different languages. The story is a story that has been told in many different ways, and it is a story that has been told in many different languages.

"The story of the little girl who was not afraid of the dark" is a story that has been told for centuries. It is a story that has been told in many different ways, and it is a story that has been told in many different languages.

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"My days are few! let me alone awhile,
that I may have life bright with a
brief smile, before I leave it to return
no more, before I pass to darkness and
gloom, to a land dark as midnight, utter
chaos, with no light but the shades of death." 10;20-22 Moffatt

In Lamentations and in the Psalms the dead are thought of as dwelling in a place of darkness.

"He hath made me dwell in dark places,
as those who have been long dead." Lamentations 3;6

"He shall go to the generation of his fathers;
They shall never see the light." Ps. 49;19

"Thou hast laid me in the lowest pit
In dark places, in the deeps." Ps. 88;6

The prophet Jeremiah, in one of the finest passages of his prophecy, pleads with the people to

"Give glory to Jehovah your God, before he causes
darkness, and before ~~he~~ your feet stumble upon the
dark mountains, and while ye look for light, he
turn it into ~~darkness~~ the shadow of death, and
make it gross darkness. " Jer. 13;16

Babylonian Home of Dead a Place of Darkness

As was indicated in the Descent of Ishtar the Babylonians looked upon the world of the dead as a place of darkness and gloom. These people ~~was~~ were inclined to take a gloomy view of the future life and the religious leaders were powerless or disinclined to controvert this view. The dead resided in a cave beneath the earth. The earth was regarded as a mountain, therefore, the cave is pictured as a hollow within or underneath the mountain. The most common name for the cave is Aralu or Arallu. The etymology of the word is uncertain, but it refers to a place which is pictured as vast and gloomy.

Among the names for the world of the dead are found "the lower earth", "the pit", "the land beyond", "the house of darkness", "the place of darkness", and "the land of no return." (Jensen "Die Kosmologie Der Babylonier" pp 215). When the

My dear Mr. [Name],
I have just received your letter of the 15th inst. and am glad to hear from you. I am well and hope these few lines will find you the same. I am sure you are very busy with your work, but I thought I would write a few lines to let you know I am thinking of you.

Very truly yours,
[Name]

I am sure you are very busy with your work, but I thought I would write a few lines to let you know I am thinking of you.

I am sure you are very busy with your work, but I thought I would write a few lines to let you know I am thinking of you.

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 oth^r world is described as the "far land" the thought is of the remote west. A similar description is found in the Homeric poem in which we read of the voyage of Odysseus when the land of the departed is sought for. Nevertheless the resting place of the dead is an underworld. (Jensen ut sup 226.).

Again considering the conception of Sheol among the Hebrews ^{it} is found that the state of forgetfulness is added to the nature of darkness and chaos in the underworld. The nature of this forgetfulness is not always made clear. In Job 14;21 it seems that forgetfulness ^{simply} ~~merely~~ means that those who have gone down to Sheol have no knowledge of the living.

"His sons are honoured, but he never knows;
 His sons are shamed; he never feels it." Moffatt.

In Job 21;21 the author feels that the living forgets a man when he is dead because they feel that he has gone to the land of forgetfulness. Here the forgetfulness seems to be on the part of the living.

"For what careth his house after him,
 When the number of his days are cut off."

But the thought that Sheol is a place where forgetfulness is one of the characteristics of the place is expressed in Psalms and also in Ecclesiastes.

"Shall thy wonders be known in the dark?
 And thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?" Ps 88;12

"For the living know that they shall die;
 But the dead know not anything, neither
 have they anymore a reward, for the memory of them is forgotten." Ecc. 9;5.

But that which the Hebrew dreaded most was not the darkness, the chaos, or the forgetfulness in Sheol, but rather the thought that there all relationship with God would be cut off. The thing which was a source of joy, especially to the author of the Psalms, was the joy of living in the presence of God. When the consciousness of the presence of God is blurred in any way the Old Testament is discouraged.

Sheol was a place where all fellowship with God was cut off, therefore, it was a place not to be desired. In Psalm 88;2-5 the author feels a loneliness for God. This feeling is thought of as similar to death itself and he asks God to hear his prayer,

"For my soul is full of troubles,
And my life draweth night to Sheol.
I am reckoned with them that go down
into the pit; I am as a man that has no help,
Cast off among the dead,
Like the slain that lie in the grave,
Whom thou remembrest no more,
And they are cut off from thy hand."

In Psalm 28;1 there is another prayer from the Psalmist. Here the writer feels that God is deaf to his prayers. Such feelings would produce a condition which is similar to those who are in the pit.

"Unto thee, O Jehovah, will I call:
My rock, be thou deaf not deaf unto me;
Lest if thou be silent unto me,
I become like them that go down
into the pit."

This Psalm is referred to in Isaiah 38;18. This verse of the Prophet reiterates the idea that Sheol is a place which is cut off from the presence of God.

"For Sheol cannot praise thee,
death cannot celebrate thee;
They that go down into the pit
cannot hope for thy truth."

Sheol is a place of darkness, chaos, silence, and absent from God. Such conditions can offer nothing but hopelessness to those who go there. In Job 17;13-16 the author feels a sense of hopelessness as he thinks of the grave and the future.

"All I can hope for is a home below,
To make my home in the darkness of death,
To call the tomb my mother;
To call the worm 'my sister';
Where, where is any bliss for me?
Oh where can I see any hope?
Hope and bliss sink with me below;
We go down to the grave together." Moffatt.

Davidson says the thought here is that father, mother, and sister, expressing

the nearest relationship, indicates how closely Job now feels connected with the grave. He wholly belongs to it, and he greets it as taking the place of all that is related to him on the earth. If death has such nearness where can be the hope which his friends are holding out to him? Who shall see such a hope realized? There is no hope. The prophet Isaiah has said that Sheol is barred with bars or bolts.

"I said in the noontide of my days
I shall go into the gates of Sheol;
I am deprived of the residue of my
years." Isa. 38;10 (a)

Mingled with the various ideas of Sheol which are haunting to the human mind there is implied in the writings of Psalms--and Job the idea of relief in the future life. In fact Job seems to express mood ideas regarding Sheol. In chapter 3;13-19 Sheol is pictured as a place of rest. If the idea ~~is~~ means peace and quietness from the evil with which he finds himself surrounded it would be in keeping with the preceding ideas of forgetfulness and silence. But if on the other hand rest or sleep means happiness, it is not in keeping with the general idea of Sheol. The better interpretation seems to be that the worst terror of death will be rest compared with the turmoil in which the writer finds himself at the present time.

"Why did the knees receive me?
Or why the breasts, that I should suck ? v. 12
For now should I have lain down and been quiet:
I should have slept; then had I been at rest,
With kings and counsellors of the earth,
Who build up waste places for themselves;
Or with princes that had gold,
Who filled their houses with silver;
Or as a hidden untimely birth
I had not been, as infants ~~who~~ that never
saw light.
There the wicked cease from troubling;

And there the weary are at rest.
 There the prisoners are at ease together;
 They hear not the voice of the taskmaster. "

Davidson says that these verses contain two main ideas, namely, that all evil and good, great and small are the same in the land of the dead. This common condition is one of profound rest. The wicked there are no more agitated by the turbulence of their passions. Comp. Isa. 57; 20. (a)

Jeremiah interprets death as a perpetual sleep in his prophecies concerning the judgement against Babylonia in chapter 51;39 and 51.

"When they are heated, I will make their feasts,
 and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice,
 and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake saith Jehovah" ver. 39

"And I will make drunk her princes and her wise men,
 her governors and her mighty men; and they shall sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake saith the king whose name is Jehovah of hosts." ver. 57.

Praise to God seemed to be natural to the writers of the Psalms. Any outlook upon life which denied this aspect of religion was not likely to appeal to Hebrew thought. So when the dreariness of Sheol was being pictured no darker picture could be painted than a place where the inhabitants could not praise God. Somehow the Psalmist feels that God's glory depends upon man's condition in which the latter can praise Jehovah. Argument for deliverance from Sheol is based upon the fact that in Sheol there can be no praise to God. Sheol is a land of no praise. Conditions there are not conducive to praise attitudes.

"Return, O Jehovah, deliver my soul;
 Save me for thy lovingkindness sake:
 For in death there is no remembrance of thee;
 In Sheol who shall give thee thanks?" Ps.6;4-5.

In this passage, says Dr. Leslie, the Psalmist is making his appeal more from the physical life. It is the desire from recovery of sickness, but in his petitions he appeals to the deepest qualities of God.

In Psalm 30;9 the author argues with God for his recovery on the basis that those in Sheol cannot utter praises.

"What profit is there in my blood,
when I go down to the pit?
Shall the dust praise thee?
Shall it declare thy truth?"

In Psalm 115;16-18 Cheyne says, "The mention of heaven and earth (v 15) suggest the thought that on earth, and on earth alone, can man enjoy the privilege of praising their God. Sheol is the land of silence (94;17); its chief pang will be the loss of personal communion with God (cf Isa. 38;18-19)"

"The dead cannot praise the eternal,
Nor any who sink to the silent land;
But we bless the eternal now and evermore." Moffatt.

"The dead ~~cannot~~ praise not Jehovah,
Neither any that go down into silence." Ver. 17 (a)

We find among the Babylonians the idea that the home of the dead is a place ~~of no~~ where there is no praise. The God of the Babylonians was a God of the living, says Jastrow. Happiness and success in this world were achieved only with the assistance from the gods. Prayers, sacrifices, divination rites, as well as their incantation formulae, were all means of making the gods favorably disposed towards human undertakings.

The dead in Aralu, Babylonian home of the dead, do not praise god because there is nothing that the gods can do for them. The dead are not beyond human needs, but they are beyond the needs which could be met by the gods. They were in need of protection from the malicious demons who hovered in the lower world as they infested the upper world. For this reason, with great concern, the dead were placed under the control of a special series of gods in the earth. (b)

In any condition of the dead as conceived of among the Hebrews or the Babylonians, it would be a cheerless place in which to spend eternity. The

(a) Cheyne Book of Psalms pp 310

(b) Jastrow Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions pp 203

idea of cheerlessness is borne out in the Greek conception of the future life by the shades of Achilles in the *Odyssey* ll. 489-91.

"Rather I'd choose laborously to bear
A weight of woes, and breathe the vital,
A slave to some poor hind that toils for bread,
Than reign the sceptical monarch of the dead."

Are there Distinctions in Sheol ?

To the Hebrew mind there was no escape from Sheol and its conditions. Men of every condition had to go there. It was the grave of the nations.

"In the twelfth year, on the fifteenth day of the first month, this word ^{from} of the Eternal came to me: "Son of man; wail over the host of Egypt, and send them down with a lament, you and the women of the mighty nations, to the nether regions, to join those who go down to the pit below.

Whom do you surpass in beauty?
Yet down with you, down to a shameful death, you and all your host, amid the victims of the sword!

The mighty warriors in the underworld shall hail him and his allies:

'Down with you, down to a shameful death, you and all your host, amid victims of the sword!'

Assyria is down there with all her folk, their graves around their king's buried in the abyss of the pit, all victims of the sword, who were a terror in the land of the living.

Elam is there with all her folk round her grave, all the victims of the sword who have passed down into the nether regions, men who were a terror in the land of the living and have gone down to a shameful death, sharing a disgrace with the victims who have gone down into the pit of death.

Meshek and Tubal are there with all their folk in graves around them, all lying in a shameful death, victims of the sword because they were a terror in the land of the living; they shall not lie by the mighty warriors of old, who went down to the underworld with their weapons, their swords lying under their heads, and their shields upon their skeletons, because they were a terror in the land of the living.

(And Pharaoh, you shall lie among the defeated in disgrace, the victims of the sword.)

Edom is there, with its kings and its princes, who for all their might lie among the victims of the sword, with the defeated in disgrace, with those who go down to the pit of death.

The princes of the north are all there, and all of the Phoenicians; they have gone down with the slain, for all the terror of their might, and lie with the defeated in disgrace, sharing the shame of those who go down to the pit ~~in~~ of death.

To see all these may be some comfort to Pharaoh, over all his own host, says the Lord Eternal :-- He put terror on the land of the living, and for that he shall be laid among the defeated in disgrace, with the victims of the sword-- the Pharaoh and all his host, says the Lord the "ternal" Moffatt.

Ezekiel 32;17-32

The prophet Isaiah, when he speaks of the defeat of Babylon, implies the idea that rich as well as the poor go to Sheol.

"Sheol from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming; it stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth; it hath raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations.

All they shall answer and say unto thee, Art thou also become weak as we? Art thou become like unto us?

Thy pomp is brought down to Sheol, and the noise of thy viols; the worm is spread under thee, and worms cover thee." Isa. 14;9-11.

The passage which have been quoted above implies that Sheol was a place where all classes descended to at death. We are naturally faced with the question as to whether or not there was any idea as to social or ethical distinction in the minds of the Hebrew writers concerning the inhabitants of Sheol

Dean Knudson suggests that Deut. 32;22 indicates distinctions in Sheol. The reader is directed to the words "lowest Sheol" as indicating distinction.

"For a fire is kindled in mine anger,
And burneth unto the lowest Sheol,
And devoureth the earth with its increase,
And setteth on fire the foundations of
the mountains."

Dean Knudson further cites Proverbs 7;27 and Isaiah 14;15 as passages which would indicate distinctions in Sheol. The words in Proverbs which call for attention are 'chambers of death'.

"Her house (harlot's) is the way to Sheol,
Going down to the chambers of death."

The words to be noted in the passage of Isaiah are "uttermost part of the pit."

"Yet thou shall be brought down to Sheol,
to the uttermost parts of the pit." Isa. 14;15

Dean Knudson not only thinks the passages mentioned above refer to distinctions in Sheol, but he also applies distinction to Isaiah 14; 9 following and also Ezekiel 32;17-32 which was quoted above. He thinks that the distinctions which were made on the earth were carried over into the life beyond the grave. (a)

This distinction may be made, but if distinctions are made in the above passages, they are so vague as to make this characteristic of Sheol very doubtful. The suggestion does not go beyond a mere suggestion. It seems to me that the thought in Job 3;18-19 denies any thought in the mind of that writer as to social distinctions in Sheol.

"There the prisoners are at ease together;
They hear not the voice of the taskmaster.
The small and the great are there;
And the servant is free from his master."

Here the state is neither blessed nor miserable; it is barely existence. It is doubtful, says Davidson, if there can be found in the Old Testament any distinction between good and evil in Sheol. The state is simply subsistence. (b) "Life there is sub-moral and its misery and emptiness is sub-human." (c)

Summary of discussion to this point

Before we consider the relation of Yahweh to life in Sheol it seems necessary to summarize briefly the general conception of Sheol as it existed in Hebrew thought. The Hebrews drew their conclusions from material conditions about them. The natural consequence of this method ^{were} ~~was~~ ideas of Sheol which were largely drawn from the grave and death. Of course this statement must be modified in the light of climatic and other conditions.

To the Hebrew mind Sheol was located below the earth. And in some cases it was conceived of as being below the waters. In fact in the Book of Jonah Sheol is closely connected with the sea. The general conception among the peoples of the world has been that the abode of the dead was a subterranean receptacle to which all went after death.

(a) Knudson Religious Teachings of the O.T. pp 390

(b) Davidson *Theology*, the O.T.

(c) Knudson *et al.*

pp. 425

pp 391

The Hebrew writers pictured Sheol as a monster with a large gaping mouth. This monster cannot be satisfied. So greedy is the monster that when once a person goes there, there is no return. A similar idea is found in Babylonian thought. It is portrayed in "Ishtar's Descent to Hades." The Babylonia idea also pictures the home of the dead as a place of intense darkness. This thought is also characteristic of the Hebrew thought.

Sheol is also thought of as a place of forgetfulness. The atmosphere of the place is one of forgetfulness. Not only is it a place of forgetfulness on the part of the inhabitants, but it is forgotten by God. All fellowship with God is cut off. In this place of isolation there may be an opportunity of rest and even sleep. But the thing which worried the Hebrew mind most was the fact that in Sheol there was no chance to praise God. As a consequence of this condition, Yahweh would not receive just praise. A similar thought is found in Babylonian thought.

There are passages in Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Job which would suggest that Sheol was thought of as being a place of social and possibly moral distinctions, but the thought on this line is vague and barely beyond mere suggestions.

Yahweh and Sheol

Sheol is a place of departed personalities. It is a great rendezvous of the dead persons for in a strict sense no distinctions are drawn between the body and its place and the spirit and its place. Death is the withdrawal of the spirit of life by God Himself. The spirit of life is the source of in general of energy and vital force. If this spirit is withdrawn, the personality is of necessity left feeble and flaccid. All that belongs to life ceases except existence. The personalities are worn as by sickness. But Isaiah 14:10 would suggest that they dimly conscious of themselves and their state.

These personalities seem to lead a kind of shadowy life of their own; dreamy pomp and ceremonial; sitting with invisible forms upon imperceptible thrones from which they are stirred

with a flicker of interest and emotion to greet ~~the~~ any distinguished new arrival. The shades are but the wavering shades of the present life. (a)

We can immediately see what the reaction of such a place would have upon the mind of a Hebrew person who felt the fellowship with Jehovah in such ways as many of the authors of the Psalms felt. For example in the Psalm 16; 8-19 there is expressed a closeness with God which would make the one experiencing it feel horrified with the thought of any life without God.

"I keep the Eternal at all times before;
with him so close, I cannot fail.
And so my heart and soul rejoice,
my body rests secure; for never wilt thou
let me sink to death,
nor leave thy loyal one to the grave;
thou wilt reveal the path to life,
to the fullest joy of thy presence,
to the bliss of being close to thee
forever." Moffatt

The close presence of God to the saint is also well expressed in Psalm 139;7-12.

"Where could I go from thy spirit,
where could I flee from thy face?
I climb to heaven but thou art there;
I nestle in the nether world? and thou
art there!
If I dart swift to the dawn, or to the
verge of the ocean far, thy hand even there
would fall on me, thy right hand would reach me.
If I say "The dark will screen me, the night will
hide me in its curtains," yet darkness is not
dark to thee, the night is clear as daylight." Moffatt.

Kirkpatrick said of this passage, "The consciousness of the intimate personal relation between God and man which is characteristic of the whole Psalter reaches its climax here. The omniscience, omnipresence, and omnipotence of Jehovah are no cold philosophical abstractions for the Psalmist. He realizes most vividly that Jehovah is one who knows all his thoughts and actions, one from whose universal presence he cannot escape, one whose has fashioned his frame and ordered his life." b This Psalm dates from the exilic or post-exilic period.

(a) Davidson Theology of the O.T. p 427

(b) Kirkpatrick Psalms XC-CI Cambridge Bible pp 786

With the assured fellowship in the experience of the Hebrew in our minds, it is necessary to consider more fully the relation that Yahweh was considered to have with Sheol. The pious Israelite felt that he had the essence of heaven in this life. This feeling was an idea ~~fact~~ rather than the fulness of reality. But the idea tended to possess the thinking of the Hebrews to the extent that the future life was placed in the background of their thinking. But the idea of the presence of God did not quite satisfy all of the demands which the experiences of life brought about. The Old Testament ~~was~~ saint was a sojourner here and death and the future was a fact that had to be considered.

The earliest conception of Sheol and the future life was the thought that God had no dealings with the inhabitants there. Peters says that Sheol was considered a foreign land and was excluded from the religion of Yahweh like other foreign lands. (a). But such an idea could not hold its ground when the thought of Yahweh began to develop and his power became more universal.

Before the eighth century prophets Yahweh was conceived of as a national God. The worship of this period, says Burney, can best be described as monolatry rather than monotheism. Gods of other nations were believed to exist. To Israel the national God was king of his people. The earthly king was the viceregent of the national God (b). It seems possible that the above statement is not quite true. At least some of the earlier narratives imply a God more universal than a mere national deity. In Genesis 2;4ff Yahweh is described as the Creator of the world. This narrative comes from the J document and is likely considerably earlier than the middle of the eighth century.

The ethical and moral distinction of the Hebrew religion lies in the place in which their God holds in the faith of the people. The idea of only one God for the Hebrew people would inevitably lead to the belief in monotheism. By the

a-- Peters Religion of Israel pp 452

b-- Burney Israel's Hope of Immortality pp 14

"The same monotheistic influences which extended the sway of Yahweh beyond the land of Israel over the whole earth, tended sooner or later, to carry it into the dark land of Sheol." (a) The prophecy of Amos around 750 B.C. considered the power of Yahweh to extend even to the world of the dead.

"Though they dig into Sheol, thence
shall my hand take them; and though
they climb up to heaven, thence will
I bring them down." Amos 9;2

"We may then regard the establishment of the doctrine of monotheism as the first great ~~step~~ advance in the direction of a higher conception as to the future state. If Yahweh is supreme deity of the universe, then Sheol also must be found to come within the range of his hand, and its inhabitants, and its inhabitants need not be regarded as outside of his care." (b). The earliest doctrine of monotheism was more or less speculative. This was especially true in the thought of powers which extended to the world of the dead. The idea was most likely a mere inference to possibilities in the pre-exilic prophets but was worked out to its fuller conclusion in the late post-exilic period.

Hosea 13;14 which was written around 740 B.C. conceives the power of Yahweh as extending over Sheol.

"I will ransom them from the power of Sheol:
I will deem them from death: O death, where
are thy plagues?
O Sheol, where is thy destruction?
repentance shall be ~~laid~~ hid from my eyes."

But it remained for the exilic and post-exilic prophets to present the completed view of Jahwe. Here He is the God of the earth, beside whom there is no other God, not even spirits of evil. He is the creator of the evil as well as the good.

"I am Jehovah and there is none else;
beside me there is no God. I will gird
thee, though thou hast not known me;
that they may know from the rising of
the sun, and from the west, that there is

none beside me: I am Jehovah and there is none else.
 I form the ~~darkness~~ light and create the darkness; I
 make peace, and create evil; I am Jehovah, that doeth
 all of these things." Isa. 45;5-7

To such thinkers as the author of the Book of Job, says Peters, Sheol in its old sense is impossible. There can be no miserable continuation of existence apart from God. All things are now in his presence. Old words and myths may be used but they are mere figures of speech. (a) This I would say is the conclusion of Job. It has been pointed out before that older conceptions of Sheol were vividly expressed in some passages of Job. The highest idea of Job concerning God's power over Sheol is found in Job 26;5-6.

"They that are deceased tremble beneath
 the waters and the inhabitants thereof.
 Sheol is naked before God,
 And Abaddon hath no covering."

The idea is carried to a full conviction in Psalm 139; 7-12. ^{Driver-- Gray} ~~Briggs~~ dates (b) this passage from the Persian Period and subsequent to Nehemiah. If this date be correct, it would come from the latter part of the third century. Job comes from around 400 B.C. So we see by the fourth century B.C. the opinion was well established that Jahwe was a God whose power extended to the dead as well as over the living.

Summary of Yahweh and His relation to Sheol

The earliest conceptions of Sheol embodied the idea that Yahweh had nothing to do with the dead. This idea was the natural outcome of the belief in a national deity. But as the idea became prevalent that Yahwe was more than a national God, it was not far to the establishment in the belief in monotheism. The influences which spread or helped to spread the belief in monotheism, also aided in developing the idea that Yahweh had power over Sheol also.

This idea was prevalent in a speculative way among the eighth century prophets. It was developed more fully among the exilic and post-exilic prophets. When we

a-- Peters Religion of the Hebrews pp 26

b-- Driver and Gray International Critical Commentary Job pp 220

none would say I am Jewish and there is none else.
I love the darkness light and darkness the darkness;
make peace, and peace with I am Jewish, that death
All at once I say, "I am Jewish."

To such thinkers as the author of the book of Job, says Job, "What is
the old name is impossible. There can be no alternative continuation of existence
apart from God. All things are now in his presence. His words and ways are
used, but they are more than words of speech. (a) This I would say in the conclusion
of Job. It has been pointed out before that other conceptions of God's
vividly expressed in some passages of Job. The highest idea of Job concerning
God's power over death is found in Job 33:1-6.

"They that are deceased (Job's friends)
the waters are the darkness (Job's friends)
God is naked before God,
and God is not covered."

The idea is carried to a full conclusion in Psalm 139:7-12. This idea is
the passage from the Jewish period and subsequent to Job. It is not to
correct, it would come from the latter part of the third century. Job comes from
around 400 B.C. It is not by the Jewish century 300. The Jewish era will
established that there was a God whose power extended to the dead as well as over
the living.

Summary of Jewish and the relation to Job

The earliest conceptions of God's power over death are found in Job. This idea was the natural outcome of the belief
in a national deity. But as the idea became prevalent that there was more than
a national God, it was not far to the establishment of the belief in immortality.
The belief which helped to spread the belief in immortality, also
helped in developing the idea that Jewish had power over death also.
This idea was prevalent in a speculative way among the eighth century prophets.
It was developed more fully among the Hellenic and post-Hellenic prophets. When we

come to the writers of the late Psalms and the Book of Job there is to be found the belief that Yahweh's power is extended even to Sheol.

Further Discussion of future Life among the Babylonians

At this point it seems necessary to discuss a little more fully the idea of future life as conceived of among the Babylonians. Among this people there is only a faint indication of doubt as to the continuation of consciousness after death. Their home of the dead, Aralu, corresponds in most particulars with the earlier conceptions of Sheol as held by the Hebrews. The etymology of the word Aralu is not known. It is probable that it connotes a large cave which is located deep in the earth. Ideas among the Babylonians and Assyrians varied in different places and at different periods of religious development, therefore our knowledge of the origin and composition of the religious literature of these people allows only a general conclusion. Besides the name of Aralu the place is often designated as a great city, or a temple, i.e. E-Kur-Bad "Mountain House (or temple) of the Dead".

The Babylonian doctrine of the future life arose but little above the rude and cheerless idea of existence. The spirit of the old Accadian Penitential Psalms was lost in the inconceivable superstitions of the popular mythology and magic. "The vast place which was usurped in Babylonian life and thought by the faith in spells and incantations debased the religion and clouded the eye when it was turned to the future." (a) There is no indication of more than a beginning of a belief in a retributive future, and there is no distinct doctrine of rewards. Good and bad alike dwell in the land of darkness.

Salmond thinks that the Assyrian and Babylonian races may be traced back to the same source as the Hebrew race. The dominant race which can be reached is a people who have been given the name Sumerians or Accadians who likely came from the elevated regions of Elam or from north-eastern parts.

(a) Salmond Christian Doctrine of Immortality pp 92-93

does to the writers of the Bible and the fact of its being in its form

the belief that Hebrew's power is extended even to Israel.

Further Extension of Hebrew's Power to Babylonians

At this point it seems necessary to discuss a little more fully the
idea of Hebrew life as connected with the Babylonians. Among the people
there is only a faint indication of doubt as to the connection of Hebrew
with the earlier conceptions of Israel as held by the Hebrews. The origin of the
word *Hebrew* is not known. It is probable that it denotes a large river which is
located deep in the earth. "Hebrew" among the Babylonians and Assyrians varied in
different places and at different periods of religious development, although
our knowledge of the origin and composition of the religious literature of these
people allows only a general conclusion. Besides the name of Israel the place is
often designated as a great city, or a temple, i.e., *Babylon* or *Assyria*.
origin of the word?

The Babylonian doctrine of the future life was not little more
the same and therefore idea of existence. The spirit of the old Babylonian
religion was lost in the Semitic superstitions of the people who
and magic. The great thing which was taught in Babylonian life and thought by the
light in spirit and intellectual culture the religion and showed the way to
was based on the future. (a) There is no indication of more than a suggestion of
belief in a resurrection future, and there is no distinct doctrine of heaven, hell
and the like dealt in the land of darkness.

Beliefs which the Assyrian and Babylonian races may be traced back
to the same source as the Hebrew race. The Babylonian race which can be traced to
a people who have been given the name Semites or Semites who likely came from
the elevated regions of Iran or from north-western parts.

The capital of the Sumerians was at one period Ur of the Chaldees, the sacred city of the moon-god. The civilization of the Sumerians was an advanced civilization in 4000 B.C. Their culture is found in such cities as Uruk, Ur, Larsa, Serga, or Kaluna. These cities can be identified more or less with the Old Testament cities of Eresh, Ur, Ellasar, and Calveh. The culture of the Babylonians and the Assyrians was derived largely from the Sumerians. This author thinks that the Hebrew conception of the soul and death can be traced back to Babylonian origin. (a).

Our knowledge of the Assyrian and Babylonian belief concerning the dead comes primarily from three sources, namely, the Epic of Gilgamesh, the story of "The Descent of Ishtar", and ~~the~~ "The Legend of Nergal and Ereshkigal." We do not know the origin or date of these stories and legends, but it is likely that the last named legend comes from the earlier period.

There were two fragments found at Tel-el-Amarna, in upper Egypt, in 1887 concerning "The Legend of Nergal and Ereshkigal". These fragments were deposited there in the reign of Amenophis IV, king of Upper and Lower Egypt about 1350 B.C. The story may have been composed much earlier. It at least gives the view of the world of the dead as considered by the Babylonians around 1400 B.C. The legend was considered important enough to be carried to Egypt. The legend begins as follows:

"When the gods prepared a feast
To their sister Ereshkigal
They sent a messenger;
Even if we should descend to thee,
Thou wouldst not come up to us,
Therefore send (hither) and take
thy portion (lit. food).

We get a picture here of a goddess in the nether-world being summoned above to a feast of the gods. Ereshkigal, the ruler of the great place below, is an angry being who is easily provoked, full of malice, and a fit warder for the dead who might try to escape. The goddess is single since the underworld is not fit for the propagating of human kind. She does not want to go to the feast to which she has been sum-

moned, so she sends her minister, Namtar.

When Namtar entered the feast room above, all arose to greet him except Nergal. He kept his seat. When the goddess of the lower world heard of the action of Nergal, she sent Namtar back to bring Nergal before her. To answer the summons Nergal had to pass through fourteen doors. At each door he stationed a demon whom his father, Ea, had sent as a body guard. When Nergal reached the abode of Ereshkigal and was

"Within the house he seized Ereshkigal,
By the hair, bent her down from the throne
To the ground, to cut off her head."

Ereshkigal, overcome by Nergal her brother, offered marriage to him. The marriage was carried out and Nergal became the sovereign of the lower region. Now the world of the dead was ruled over by two furious wards, the woman having been beaten into submission. There is little told as to the state of the dead.

The story of "The Descent of Ishtar" has been referred to on page five. In this story the dead live a miserable life. Ereshkigal is the warder. The estate is guarded by at least seven doors. At each door something is taken from Ishtar until she appears nude before the warder and her prisoners. (a) Ishtar is smitten with many diseases and is imprisoned until she is sprinkled with the waters of life and brought back to light by the messenger of the gods. This legend, thinks Sayce, gives to us the Chaldaen view of life in the other world. It is clothed, however, in Semitic form. (b)

The "Epic of Gilgamesh" was found in the Nineveh collection which was buried in the mound of Kuyunjik. The summary of this epic is, as follows; The hero of the story is Gilgamesh. The story is probably woven about a historic king in Uruk, and made for expression of the views and speculations of priests and philosophers concerning the universe. The important part of the epic for our purpose

a--Hastings	Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics	pp 828-29
b-- Sayce	Hibbert Lectures	pp 221

...and, as the scene for the first time, ...

...from the other side of the same door, all across to meet his ...

...argued, he kept his seat, when the contents of the lower world ...

...of the world, the first time he had to bring his ...

...the narrowest of the world, he was ...

...found a man who was his father, he ...

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connects Gilgamesh with a friend called Engidu, and also with the hero of the deluge named Ut-Napishtim. Engidu has perished through the machinations of Ishtar and Gilgamesh has good reasons to believe that death will claim him also. The latter seeks immortal life. He comes at last to the maiden Sabitu at the seashore and inquires of the future life. He hopes to learn of the way to Ut-Napishtim who is among the dead. At last Ut-Napishtim is found, but his appearance is not changed. Gilgamesh exclaims,

"I consider thee, O Ut-Napishtim
Thy appearance is not changed,
thou art like me,
Thou art not different, even as
I am, thou art."

In this epic we find a man who is not in such a plight as those in the other stories. The deceased has been exalted. Gilgamesh would know the reason for the exaltation. Upon inquiry he is told of the story of the deluge and the great deliverance. Here we have a story in many respects similar to the story of Noah in the Old Testament. But Gilgamesh in the end is forced to return from his fruitless journey. He has learned nothing that will be of help to himself.

Babylonian thought in many particulars was unequal to more than the thought of existence of life after death. There is the hint in the Gilgamesh Epic of exaltation of him who died in battle but the lines are obscure. The lines are as follows:

"He who dies the iron death (?) saw you such a one ?
I saw; upon a bed of ease he rests, clear water he drinks:
He who dies in battle, saw you such a one? I saw,
His father and his mother hold his head, and his- his
Wife bends over (?) him" Gilgamesh Epic XII 151-54.

This conception is advanced over that found in "The Descent of Ishtar" but it did not become general, at least we do not find it in any other Babylonian literature yet discovered.

In the Meissner Fragments we find Gilgamesh (Gish) confronted with despairing advice.

"Gish, whither goest thou?
 The life that thou doest seek,
 thou shalt not find.
 When the gods humanity did make
 For humanity did death determine,
 But life held in their own hands."

The conclusion which would be drawn from such hope would be the abandonment of the search for immortality and efforts would be made to make the best of this life.

"Thou, Gish let thy body be filled,
 Day and night be fraught with pleasure (?),
 Daily make a feast of joy,
 Day and night dance (?) and joy (?)
 Clean thy dress,
 Thy head be washen, in water bathed,
 Look joyously at the child that holds thy hand,
 Hold thy wife in pleasurable embrace."

The Egyptian Conception of future Life

With the Hebrew conception and the Babylonian conception of the future life in mind, it seems necessary to discuss in this connection the ideas which the Egyptian people held concerning the life beyond the grave. First of all we are impressed with the historic majesty of this people, both politically and religiously. The Egyptians, says Salmond, have religious beliefs which are entirely their own.

These ideas come from a people who probably issued from the interior of Asia, moved southward by the way of the Isthmus of Suez or the Red Sea (Petrie Babylonian and Oriental Records June 1894) into the Nile valley. There the ideas people mingled with other issues. As we find the Egyptians they are a people who stand alone in historical stability. They have been classed under many races but all classifications are uncertain. They are a people whose achievements in art, mechanical contrivances, and architecture are still the wonder of the world.

Their monarchy carries us back to 2000 years before Christ the Hebrew Exodus and their civilization stretches into ages which seem fabulous. They were a people who was docile, peaceful, and lovers of flowers as well as lovers of letters. They were of an exceptionally religious nature. The thought of death, God, and the

fears ~~ef~~ and the hope of the future life played a large part in their lives. (a). The Egyptians were a people given to letters. They left to us the Precepts of Ptahhotep, the still earlier moral writings found ~~in-the~~ with these Precepts in the Prisse Papyrus, and parts of the Book of the Dead, which are the oldest pieces of literature in the world. (b).

The Book of the Dead is our chief source ~~fe~~ of knowledge for the religious conceptions of the Egyptian people. In its present form it may not go beyond the seventh century B.C. but it existed long before this in separate chapters. Its manuscripts take us back to the 14th and 15th centuries. This book was most ~~valy-~~able to the people of the Nile Valley. It held all of the beatitudes for future existence.

"If one knows this book thoroughly and has it inscribed upon his sarcophagus, he will be manifested in the day, in all (the forms) that he may desire, and entering his abode, will not be turned back."

The virtue of the book is disclosed in the opening of the first chapter as follows:

"If this disclosure is learnt upon earth, or is written upon the coffin, "says an early rubric," he (the deceased) may come forth upon every day that he pleaseth and again enter his house without impediment, and there shall be given him bread and beer and flesh--meat upon the table of Ra: he shall receive allotment in the fields of Aarru, and there shall be given him their wheat and barley, for he shall be flourishing as when he was upon earth." (c)

The texts of the book are often corrupt and therefore uncertain. In fact they are so uncertain that there has been much difference of opinion as to the correct interpretaion of the title of the book. It has been interpreted as meaning "going out from day", "going out of the day", "outgoing day", "going out in the day" and other interpretations. The ideas of the book have been equally as widely interpreted.

a--Salmond	Israel's Hope of Immortality	pp 46
b-- Tiele	History of Egyptian Religion	pp 4
c-- Davis	Egyptian Book of the Dead	pp 59-60

But in spite of the fact of the confusion of ideas which the religion of Egypt has produced, it has been said that in no ancient people was there the idea of future life earlier or more firmly planted than among the Egyptians. Their religion was complex. It was an indeterminate monotheism which could not withstand the intrusion of polytheistic and pantheistic influence. "Within the historical period, the belief in the unity of God did not preclude the worship of a plurality of gods, and it is certain that the quasi-pantheistic strains overbare the monotheism." (a). When this happened the old religion lost its ethical quality and became materialized. The consequence of this was that the whole conception of life after death declined in definiteness, hopefulness and moral power.

The Egyptian of life after death crossed and recrossed each other, but the most ancient and widespread belief in the second life was that it was led under circumstances similar to those which governed the first life. There is no change in form. The old man is an old man still. The little child is a little child still. The dead, the same as the living, must be supported by offerings of food and drink. Relatives must see that the dead lacked nothing. In later forms inscriptions and statuettes took the place of food and drink.

The dead formed a community to themselves in most cities. They were governed by a special god of the dead. In many cities the dead were under separate divinities. For example at Memphis the god of the dead was called Sakaris. Anubis manifested himself in the form of a jackal and prowled around at night keeping watch over the dead. As a rule the guardian of the locality was at the same time the Lord of the departed, the ruler "over them that are in the west". But as time went on Osiris became the single god of the dead for all of Egypt. He was the chief "Lord of the Western Folk".

One of the earliest conceptions of the home of the dead was not unlike the world that he left. Before him lay a long valley which was traversed by a broad

by a broad river and it was broken up by numerous lakes and canals. There were many lakes where he must purify himself, and many canals and river branches to be crossed before he could reach his permanent abode. This abode could be reached only with repetitions of formulae and by incantations.

In the "fields of sacrifices" and in the "fields of rushes" the dead dwelt as "the transfigured" or as "spirits of light". They were looked upon by men as demi-gods. Among them the deceased king retained a position of special eminence. The gods even bowed down to the king. The king sat on a throne of state and received the mace and the sceptre as emblems of his dignity. In these fields the inhabitants indulged in agriculture. Corn stood 7 ells high. The ears were 3 ells long. In the evening the farmers amused themselves with their families in the shade of the sycamore trees.

A second conception of the home of the dead located it below a flat earth. The land was traversed by a river. On each bank were long passages and deep caverns--there dwelt the dead. In the day time the region was a dreary place. It was desolate and mourning was characteristic of the home. At night when the sun set behind the mystical mountain, Manu, the light of the sun shone upon the dead and they beheld the splendor of Re.

A later conception of the land beyond the grave pictured a subterranean Nile. On this river the ram-headed sun-god sailed. He was surrounded by a train of numerous divine attendants. The banks of the river were peopled by spirits, demons, and all kinds of monstrous beings who greeted the sun-god and kept his enemies at a distance. The underworld was divided into twelve regions in the direction of its length. The division corresponded to the twelve hours of the night. The regions were separated from each other by twelve massive gates. The gates were guarded by gigantic serpents, and each entrance was further defended by two fire-breathing serpents and demons. The sun-god was supposed to know all of the names of all of the serpents and daemons.

Only when he pronounced the names did the monsters retire, the gates opened and the bark passed on to new regions.

The common order of mankind dwell in a phantom nature in the lower world. The deceased king becomes one with the sun-god. The king could go on the night journey with the sun-god provided he knew all of the names of the serpents and daemons. These names were often inscribed on the walls of the gratto-tombs to provide the king with knowledge. Later this privilege was applied to all classes of people if the formulae were known.

The Egyptians had no exact conception as to the location of the realm of ~~the-dead~~ Osiris or the ward of the dead. It was early assigned to a definite location but we do not know where. At a later period it was generally assigned in the west, thought of as a place above the heavens, in the fields of the blessed, or in ^Twet, the underworld beneath the earth.

(The above Egyptian conceptions of the underworld are taken largely from Steindorff's Religion of the Ancient Egyptians pp 106 ff.)

Politically and economically, says Peters, the influence of Egypt upon Palestine was great, but as to religious influence, "---- we find absolutely no trace of any influence of the Egyptian belief (concerning future life) on the Hebrews." This is true of religious influence in general. (a) In the post-exilic period and after a large population was in Egypt, the religious and philosophical influence was exerted through and by the Egyptian Jews. Even the Book of Job owes nothing to the influence of Egypt. (a)

Influence of Babylon upon Hebrew Thought of Future Life

Jastrow says that the early conception of Sheol among the Hebrews differed in no essential particular from the ideas among the Babylonians. The Assyrian and Babylonian view was practically identical with the conceptions commonly held in a certain stage of culture of people practically everywhere in the world. "There is no need, therefore, for assuming that they obtained their early views from the Babylonians, or that the Babylonians got their ideas from the Hebrews. One direct

Peters Religion of the Hebrews p 45-7

Only when he understood the nature of the constant battle, the great struggle

and the work passed on to his people.

The former order of mankind itself is a constant battle in the inner world.

The constant battle between one with the world, the king could be the battle

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contact is a term shu'alu in Babylonian usage which suggest the Hebrew Sheol. It is one of the designations for the grave. But the reading of the Babylonian signs are not absolutely certain. The point is of no particular value because the conceptions are so near alike anyway." (a).

The statements of Jastrow and Peters concerning the interchanging of influences seem to be too dogmatic. It seems that two countries could not intermingle so much as Palestine and Babylonia did and be influenced politically so much without the religious influence of both being changed by the contacts. But the consensus of opinion of the scholars seems to be that in the matter of future life the Hebrews were very much original in their views.

With the views of the various countries discussed concerning the place of the abode of the dead in our minds, we must consider briefly the conceptions of the Old Testament writers on the question of man's place in the realm of creation.

Place of Man in the Old Testament

There seems to have been two prevalent conceptions of man in the Old Testament which most likely embodied the same idea. One of these conceptions was that man was created in the image of God. The idea is found in Genesis 1;26 which comes from the P narrative. This would place the writing around 500 B.C.

"And God said, let us make man in our image,
after our likeness: and let them have dominion
over the fish of the sea and the birds of
the heavens, and over the cattle, and over all
the earth, and over every creeping thing
that creepeth upon the earth."

A second conception implies that God made man by some divine and distinct act. This idea is found in Genesis 2;7 which comes from the J document and is thought to have been written around 850 B.C.

"And Jehovah God formed man of the dust of the ground
and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life;
and man became a living soul."

a Jastrow Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions pp 197 f.

On the one hand man is like the lower animals. He is flesh with all of its limitations. But the flesh is not necessarily considered as evil. He is as independent as the animals, but by the entrance of the spirit of God the soul rises and the flesh is animated.

The lower animals emerge as a direct product of earth by the divine command of God. They are immediately the offspring of matter under the operation of the divine spirit or principle of life. But man's life or soul and himself, a living being, are the results of special and immediate act of God Himself (Gen. 2;26) or a direct divine communication of the "breath of life" (Gen. 2;7). There is a sacredness in the life of man which is not in the brute. Man's very nature destines him to a place not accorded to the animals.

To the Hebrew mind life and good are moral ideas. Apart from God there is no good nor life. Happiness is found only in the nearness of God.

"To love Jehovah thy God, to obey his voice,
and to cleave unto him; for he is thy life and
the length of thy days; that thou mayst dwell
in the land which Jehovah sware unto thy
fathers, unto Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob,
to give them." Deut. 30;20

"And I will set my tabernacle among you:
and my soul shall not abhor you.
And I will walk among you, and will
be your God and you will be my people." Lev. 26;11-12

"I have set Jehovah always before me:
Because he is at my right hand,
I shall not be moved." Ps. 16;8

But the life of-God with God was a mutual relationship. The fundamental principle in the Old Testament is the idea that God is to man as man is to God.

"And if by these things ye will ~~walk~~ not be reformed
unto me, but will walk contrary to me; then will I
also walk contrary unto you; and I will smite you,
even I, seven times for your sins." Lev 26;23-24

"To the kind thou provest kind,
and true to the true,
to the pure thou provest pure,
and treacherous to the treacherous;
the humble thou wilt raise,
but the haughty thou wilt abase." Ps. 18;25-27 Moffatt.

The passage just quoted from Psalm 18 comes from the late pre-exilic period and gives to us an insight into the prevailing idea of Man's responsibility in the moral life with God.

Death and Life in the Old Testament

As we study the conception of man in the Old Testament, we are impressed with the idea of death as related to man. In fact there is little question of death in the Old Testament. There is a change but the change is an introduction into a new age. Death is contemplated in only a few Old Testament passages. The following verses express the idea on man's death.

"Rely not upon great men--
mere mortals who can give no help;
when their breath goes they return
to the dust, and on that very day
their projects perish." Ps. 146; 3-4 Moffatt

"Why not forgive my guilt,
why not let my sins pass?
Soon, soon have I to lie down in the dust;
and when~~ee~~ thou searchest for me,
I shall be no more." Job 7;21 Moffatt.

"Like the water of a vanished lake,
like a dry, drained river, man lies down,
never to arise, never to awaken, though
the skies wear out, never to stir out
of his slumber." Job 14;11-12 Moffatt.

These verses may be reflections of despondency over the shortness of life rather than the assertion that there is a complete death.

Life in the Old Testament starts with the idea of a person. Life is the existence of a complete personality in its unity of body and soul. The bond of unity in man's nature is his moral relationship with God. Life to the Old Testament writer is what we call life plus fellowship with God. "This life seemed the normal condition of man. Life with God was possible here--was indeed life." (a)

"All else was sunk in the overmastering consciousness of the immediacy of God the sense of his just work on earth. The silence of the Old Testament, especially in the law, on the subject of the future life has its reasons in this." (b)

a Davidson Theology of the O.T. p 508 505

b--Salmond Christian Doctrine of Immortality p 929

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"Not from the want of religion but, if we might use the expression, from excess of religion, was the void of life in the Jewish mind. The future life was not denied or contradicted; but it was overlooked, set aside, overshadowed, by the consciousness of the living, actual presence of God Himself. That truth, at least in the limited conceptions of the youthful nations, was too vast to admit any rival truth, however precious." (a)

The conclusion concerning the Hebrew conception of life is that it is an eternal something which was so linked to God that it was inextinguishable. The fullest expression of life is to be found in the fellowship with God here and now. The blessedness of righteousness was is the gift of a long life. This idea is expressed in Exodus 20;12 which comes from the E Decalogue.

"Honor thy father and thy mother,
that thy days may be long in the
land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee."

The same idea is applied to the nation of Israel in Deut. 4;1 as follows:

"And now, O Israel, hearken unto the statutes
and unto the ordinances, which I teach you,
to do them; that you may live, and go in and
possess the land which Jehovah the Gods of
your fathers, giveth you."

In considering the value which the Hebrews placed upon life, it is interesting to note that life was the leading thought of the Egyptian people. The symbol of life, Ankh, is the highest and the most commonly used of all of the symbols. "The nature of the land which bore and fed him had imprinted a peculiar stamp upon his religion." (b)

To the mind of the Old Testament saint death had no place in the original plan of God. Man was made for the eternal presence of God. The idea of an endless life with God is nobly expressed in Genesi 5;24.

"And Enoch walked with God;
and he was not; for God took him."

...the word of religion was, it is right and is expected, from
...of religion, and the word of life in the Jewish mind. The Jewish mind was
...of religion, but it was not the word of life, and it was not the word of
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In the narrative of Elijah in 11 Kings 2;11 there is the implication that there is no death, at least for the most saintly. Elijah ~~is~~ was carried to God as in the whirlwind.

"And it came to ~~place~~ pass as they still went on,
and talked, that behold, there appeared a chariot
of fire, and horses of fire, which parted them both asunder;
and Elijah went up as ~~by~~ a whirlwind into heaven."

new

Isaiah spoke of the ~~ne~~ kingdom which was to come. In this prophecy which was spoken about the middle of the fourth century the absolution of death is implied.

"He hath swallowed up death forever;
and the Lord Jehovah will wipe away
tears from off all faces; and the reproach of his people will he take away
from off the earth; for Jehovah hath
spoken it."

But the fact of physical death had to be accounted for., Beliefs in the original plan of God could not always be harmozized with the actual facts of life. The Hebrew mind found the souldution in the conclasion that death was the result of sin on ~~the~~ part of man. Man is given a certain amount of freedom in choice. But if certain restrictions are not carried out, man shall surely die. This idea is set forth in Genesis 2;17 which fomes from the J document.

"And Jehovah God commanded the man, saying,
Of the tree of the garden thou mayst ~~eat~~
freely eat (v 16)
But of the tree of knowledge of good and evil,
thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that
thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die."

When the man and the woman had eaten of the forbidden fruit, it is recorded that Jehovah said to Adam,

"In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,
till thou return unto the ground: for ~~it-is-~~ out
of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto
dust shalt thou return."

In this passage, thinks Dr. Knudson, there is no question but what death is viewed as actually due from the expulsion from the Garden of Eden. (a)

"Death is essentially an evil. It is always an effect of sin, namely, separation from God. It is the greatest possible separation. Evil was the consequence of God's anger." (a) To the Hebrew mind death was the extreme consequence. God had left them when he chastised them. He left them altogether when he chastised unto death.

The reward for righteousness was a long life. But death was the reward for wickedness. The idea is well expressed in the confession of David to Nathan and the reply to David in 11 Samuel 12;13.

"And David said unto Nathan, I have sinned against Jehovah. And Nathan said unto David Jehovah also hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die."

In the prophecies of Jeremiah which comes from the period around 590 B.C. implies the same idea.

"But every one shall die for his own iniquities: every man that eateth sour grapes his teeth shall be set on edge." Jer. 31;30

Death as the penalty for wickedness is expressed late in the book of Job.

"But the eyes of the wicked shall fail,
And they shall have no way to flee;
And their hope shall be the giving up
of the ghost."

Summary of the Hebrew idea of life and death

Man was made in the image of God. In one respect he was of flesh as the animals of the flesh and as such was subject to the same thing. But in a higher sense God had breathed the spirit of life into man and this made man of a higher nature than the brute. In the original plan of God death was not intended for man. This idea is implied in the older narratives of ~~th~~ which the translation of Enoch and Elijah are good examples. Fellowship with God was the highest life. This fellowship must continue because of the nature of man.

But death was a fact which must be accounted for. The only solution that the Hebrew mind could think of was the conclusion that death was a result of sin.

The ultimate conclusion of such a theory would be that death was the reward of wickedness and long life was the reward of righteousness. And this is about where the theory of life and death rested ~~for~~ until late in the history of Israel.

The Soul or the EterImmortal Part of Man to Hebrew Thought

There was no question in the minds of the Old Testament writers as to the continued existence of life beyond the grave. But what was there about man which existed? Man lived beyond the grave as a personality. The nature and quality of this personality was not always, if ever, clear in thought.

The earliest belief among the Hebrews was the belief that the blood as the life of man comes from Jehovah and to Jehovah must be restored. Blood which was shed must be buried or it cried out to Jehovah and brought his vengeance upon the shedder. This was also true of animal's blood. This idea is found in the P narrative in Leviticus 17;14.

"If anyone belonging to Israel or any alien who has settled among them captures by hunting any beast or bird that may be eaten, he must pour its blood out, covering it with dust; for the soul of every creature is bound up with its blood. Hence my order for Israel is, that you must never taste the blood of any creature, for the soul of every creature lies in its blood; anyone who tastes it shall be outlawed." Moffatt.

In thought blood and Nefesh come to be identical in meaning as the soul or the self of man. Deuteronomy 12;23-24 identifies the two when clean and unclean foods are referred to.

"Only, be sure never to eat it with the blood for the blood is its soul, and you must not eat the soul along with the flesh; you must not eat it, you must pour it like like water on the ground." Moffatt

A similar identification is made in Leviticus 17;11.

"For the soul of any creature lies in its blood and I have appointed blood as your means of expiation on the altar; blood expiates by reason of the soul in it." Moffatt.

Breath and nefesh are connected in some way so that the man becomes a living being by the breath of Yahweh which is breathed into man's nostrils. This idea is found in connection with the story of ~~Man~~ man's creation as told in Genesis

"Then God the Eternal moulded man from the dust of the ground, breathing into his nostrils the breath of life; this was how man became a living being." Moffatt.

Job 34;14 implies that the breath of God is the living energy which permits the human race to exist. If this was withdrawn, the race would immediately perish.

"And were he to withdraw his spirit,
were he to gather in his breath,
the human race would perish in a ~~maem~~
moment~~m~~, man would return to dust." Moffatt.

The soul is the seat of man's individuality. It retains its capacity for existence only so far as the spirit of life remains. Continued life depends upon the continued giving of the spirit, therefore, moral connection with God is the ~~fi~~ first and determining thing in the life of man. ~~P~~ Prayer may be a means of bringing the departed spirit of life back to the body. This thought is exemplified in the story of Elijah's prayer for the dead child which was caused to live again.

"And Jehovah hearkened unto the voice of Elijah;
and the soul of the child came into him again,
and he was revived." 1 Kings 17;22.

In the Psalm 30;30 the soul is even thought of being brought back from Sheol.

"O Jehovah thou hast brought
up my soul from Sheol."

These references indicate that that the soul was was believed to be that which survives death and descends into Sheol. There it still ~~remaintains~~ some personal life. It is departed from the quickening spirit (ruach) and therefore, bereft of all of its intellectual, emotional, and volitional energies and reduced to a shade. The ruach was the principle ⁱⁿ of God. In later literature when the kinship of man to God was emphasized more the 'spirit' tends to take the place of the person as indicating the higher immaterial elements of man.

The nefesh is the active and vital element part of man. It is identical

in meaning with soul or the spirit. In many languages, says Paton, it denotes primarily 'breath' or 'wind'. (Greek anemos, pneuma; Latin spiritus, anima; English and German Geist and ghost). To the Semitic mind man consisted of two elements, namely, flesh (basar) and breath (Heb. nefesh; Arab nafs; Syr. nafsha; Babylonian and Assyrian Napishtu). The breath was the seat of knowledge, appetites, emotions, and activities, therefore it was identified with the person. In all of the Semitic dialects nafshi (my breath) means myself. At death the breath went out of man, consequently all of his powers were gone. This seems to be the Old Testament idea. (a)

In the legal literature most especially nefesh is used for the person after death. Numbers 5:2 is a good example of this thought.

"Command the children of Israel, that they
put out of camp every leper, and everyone that
hath an issue, and whoever is unclean
by the dead."

Haggai 2:13 which was written around 520 B.C. connects the spirit with the dead person.

"Then said Haggai, if one that is unclean
by reason of a dead body touch any of these,
shall it be unclean? And the priests answered
and said, it shall be unclean."

As thought developed ~~it~~ there was a tendency to speak in terms of the spirit as that intangible part of man which constitutes his real being. This was bound more closely to God as something which returns to God at death rather than something which continues to exist separately and independently.

Paton thinks that the idea that all people went to Sheol at death had ~~its~~ contrast in the idea that the tomb and the body were intimately related in some way. The variety of conception as to the dwelling place of the spirits among various people indicate that the spiritual world is secondary, and that the primary belief was that the soul remained in the neighborhood of the body. He thinks that this was the original idea of the Hebrews. If this is true the doctrine of Sheol would be a

later development in thought. (a)

Something of the above idea is found in the Hebrew thought concerning the taboo of the body (dead). The taboo of the body was due to the revered spirits in the body, subsequently regarded as unclean taboo because of the opposition of Yahweism. The idea of taboo is best expressed in Numbers 19:11 which comes from the P document.

"He that toucheth the dead body of any man shall be unclean seven days."

But the most striking belief to us as we study the beliefs along this line is the belief that the injuries of the body could still be felt by the soul.

"But ~~the~~ his flesh upon him hath pain,
And his soul within him mourneth." Job 14:22.

This belief led to the practice among the Hebrews of mutilating the bodies of the corpses of their enemies. The following passages indicate this practice.

"Then David ran and stood over the Philistine and took his sword, and drew it out of the sheath thereof, and slew him, and cut off his head thereof." 1 Sam. 17:51

"And Saul said, Thus shall ye say to David, the king desireth not any dowry, but a hundred foreskins of the Philistines, to be avenged of the king's enemies ----" 1 Sam. 18:25

"And David commanded his young men, and they slew them and cut off their hands and their feet, and hanged them up beside the pool in Hebron. But they took the head of Ish-bosheth, and buried it in the grave of Abner in Hebron."
11 Sam. 4:12

But the spirit was not absolutely confined to the body. It could move about from place to place. The spirits could affect living men. If they took the form of obsession the result would be disease or insanity for the living. The insanity of Saul in 1 Sam. 16:14-15 was ascribed to the possession of an evil spirit.

"Now the spirit of Jehovah departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from Jehovah troubled him. And Saul's servants said to him, Behold now, an evil spirit from God troubleth thee."

The idea of the spirit influencing the living was universal in antiquity. The Arabs believed that while the soul was absent during sleep that the Jinn could take possession of the body and cause all kinds of sickness and even insanity. The Babylonians thought that the troubled ghost of the unburied or of one who died of an unnatural death might enter the body to which it had been related to in life. If this was done the result would be pain and disease. Nothing could keep the spirits away. The Babylonian exorcism says,

"The highest walls, the thickest walls,
like a flood they pass. From house to house they
break through. No door can shut them out,
no bolt can turn them back. Through the
door like a snake they glide. Through the
hinge like the wind the blow." (a)

For protection from the roving spirits the Babylonians developed the practice of various spells which quieted or induced the spirits to friendliness.

Among the Semites as among other ancient peoples the dead were believed to retain the knowledge they possessed in life and in some ways acquire new and greater knowledge. The classic example of the knowledge to foretell the future is Samuel's appearance to Saul at the call of the necromancer of Endor when Samuel Saul inquired concerning the impending danger from the Philistines. Saul was told that Israel would be delivered into the hands of the Philistines 1 Sam. 28;19.

#Moreover Jehovah will deliver Israel also
with thee into the hands of the Philistines;
and tomorrow shalt thou and thy sons be with
me: Jehovah will deliver the host of Israel
into the hands of the Philistines."

Summary of the Hebraic Idea of the Soul

The Old Testament writers were sure of some form existence of life beyond the grave. Man there would be some form of a personality. That part of man which continued to live was closely connected with the blood in earliest thought. This conclusion was drawn because the blood was thought of as the seat of life. Later the blood and nefesh came to be identical with the soul. By the breath of Yahweh man becomes a living soul.

a - Thompson Devil and Evil Spirits I p 54

The soul is the seat of individuality. It continues to exist to the extent that the spirit of life remains in it. The soul is that which survives death and descends into Sheol. There it is reduced to a shade because it has lost contact with the spirit of God.

Later thought used refers to the spirit as the higher immaterial elements of man. The nefesh, the active and vital elements of man, is identified with the soul of the spirit and often designated as 'breath' or 'wind'. At death the breath went out of man and all of his power was gone.

There was a belief among the Hebrews that the spirit continued some relation with the dead body. This led to the practice of mutilating of the corpse of the slain enemies. The spirit could move from place to place. They troubled the living by causing sickness and insanity. Similar beliefs were found among the Arabs, the Babylonians and the Semitic people in general.

Among most ancient people it was believed that the spirit after death retained the powers that it possessed in the first life and in some cases they increased in power. The classic example of power to foretell the future is found in Samuel's prophecy of the outcome of the impending Philistine attack 1 Sam. 28;19

The Idea of the Soul Among the Egyptians

To the Egyptian mind the soul was not a unit as we are inclined to think of it. It embraced several things which were distinguishable from each other and all of these were distinct from the body. They were all connected in contact with each other in life, but at death they separated from each other.

The division included the Ba which most resembles our soul. It is represented as needing food and drink. The Sahu, form of the dead, the Khu, the "luminous", the intelligence as some understand it, "a spark from the divine fire" is the way Maspero^P thinks of it. (a) Others think that it was a kind of a lustrous mummy, the spiritual substance of the Ba, the shadow which could separate itself from man at death. There was the Ka which both God and man possessed.

The soul in the case of immortality, is something to enter to the other
 that the spirit of this world is it, the soul is that which enters death
 and passes to the other, there it is retained in a whole because it has not
 lost the spirit of it.

But I don't want to go to the spirit of the other, I want to go to the
 soul, the spirit, the matter and vital elements of it, it is limited with the
 soul of the spirit and other elements as 'body' or 'soul', it is the body
 and not of soul and all of his power and force.

There are, I think, many who believe that the spirit is something more than
 than with the body, this is the principle of the spirit of the body
 of the spirit matter, the spirit could move from place to place, they thought the
 thing is, having elements not immaterial, similar bodies were found among the
 atoms, the molecules and the atomic people in general.

There are without people it was believed that the spirit after death re-
 turned to the body and is possessed in the first life and in subsequent states they
 increased in power, the spirit's example of power to control the body is found
 in some of the reports of the outcome of the preceding existence which I am going

The idea of the soul after death

In the beginning when we were not a soul we were not a soul, it is
 kind of it, it is a soul which enters death and is reborn in a new
 other than all of these were different from the body, they were all separated in
 bodies when each other in life, but as soon as they separated from each other,

The division between the soul and the body was not a soul, it is a
 matter as matter, form and spirit, the soul, form of the soul, the form, the
 "matter", the intelligence as a soul, the soul, the form of the soul, the
 is not any more than of it, (a) There is a soul that is a kind of a
 form, the spirit, the matter, the form, the soul, the form of the soul, the
 itself from the soul, there was no soul when the soul was not.

We find the Osiris talked of. Some recognize here merely a name, a constituent, and the more immortal constituent of man.

The terms used in connection with the soul in Egyptian thought ^{are} ~~is~~ not certain. For example, the word Sahu is explained by some scholars as meaning the natural body. The way in which the various terms are to be related to each other is uncertain. But the most important idea is expressed by the terms ~~Ka~~ Ka and Osiris. The Ka is something similar to but not identical with man. It lives with him and is so like him that the Ka of a child ~~is~~ has the appearance of a child and the Ka of a man has the appearance of a man. The Ka is described as the spiritual body. If these distinctions are correct, the Egyptians drew broad distinctions between the body, the spiritual body and the soul. The human Osiris corresponds to the mummy but it is immortal. When death comes, the body becomes the corpse or the Xa (figured as a fish) and the first duty of the family is to see that proper embalment and entombment is carried out.

The Ka enters upon a separate existence and an independent activity. It can revisit its home on the earth and reanimate the corpse. The funeral offerings and prayers are made to the Ka. It can separate itself from the object ~~to~~ of which it was a facsimile and represent it elsewhere. The Ka gave life to the object of which it was an image. There was no Ka until the person was born, yet the person owed his existence to the Ka. Once in existence the Ka was immortal. When the Ka left the body, the body ceased to live and did not recover life until the Ka was reunited to it. Reunion could take place in the other world only after long years of experiences ~~and~~ of the disembodied Ka.

In Egypt possibly more than in any other country the idea of the soul was closely linked with the body. This idea led to the complex system of incantations, the embalming methods and precautions, and the tombs which have been the wonder of the world. Their belief in the Ka led to attempts to reproduce the present life for the benefit of the dead. As Erman puts it, "In consequence of this belief

they mummified their bodies, they built their indestructable tombs, they established endowments for sacrifices for the dead, they preserved statues and household goods in tombs--in short, it is to their faith in the Ka that we owe all our knowledge of the homelife of the people." (a)

Burial Customs

There has been a peculiar idea among many people concerning the burial of the dead. It seems that the belief was that the state of the future life depended much upon the way the dead were buried. The Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans believed that the soul could not rest well if the body was not properly entomb. (cf. Odyssey 11:91)

Rawlinson

Among the Babylonians, says ~~Jastrow~~^{Rawlinson}, proper burial was all essential. It kept the spirits of the dead from plaguing the living. The greatest misfortune of the dead was to be exposed to the day. Far down in the Assyrian period we find this expressed in the boast of Ashurbanapal. His boast was that he had destroyed the tombs of the kings of Elam and removed their bodies from their resting place. (b) Ashurbanapal scattered like thorns and thistles over the battlefields the corpses of the Babylonians who took part in the rebellion and gave them to the dogs and swines and the birds of heaven. (b). (c)

At the close of the inscriptions on the monuments which record the achievements of the Babylonian rulers, and the so called land marks, curses are hurled against those who might destroy them. A part of the curses are invariably the wish that the body of that ruthless destroyer be cast forth unburied. (d)

Curse Mutilation of the body of the foes was also a curse upon the dead as considered by the Babylonians. On one of the oldest pictorial monuments this idea is shown in describing the victory of Eannatum the Pateri of Lagash (ca 3000B.C.) over the people of Umma. The fate of the enemy is shown by pictures of the vultures

a--Erman Life in Ancient Egypt pp 317 (Tirad's Translation)

b-- Rawlinson V Plate 6, Col VI 70-73 Schrader Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek 11

c--Ibid V Plate 4, Col IV 72-86 Schrader L.C. p 193 pp 207

d--Jastrow Religious Beliefs in Babylon and Assyria pp 360

flying away with the heads of the foes in their beaks. (Reference d on page 42 comes here).

There was a horror of unburial among the Hebrews. In Genesis 47;30 Jacob makes special requests that his sons care for the burial rites.

"But when I sleep with my fathers,
thou shalt carry me out of Egypt,
and bury me in their burying place."

So dreadful was the fact of remaining unburied that burial was accorded even to the criminals. This is especially emphasized in Deut. 21;22-23.

"And if a man have committed a sin
worthy of death, and he be put to death,
and thou hang him on a tree;
his body shall not remain all night
upon the tree, but thou shalt ~~bury~~
surely bury him the same day; for he
that is hanged is accursed of God; that
thou defile not thy land which Jehovah
thy God giveth thee for an inheritance."

When Jeremiah was prophesying against the nations, he hurled the fearful curses of unburial against them.

"And the slain of Jehovah shall be at that day
from one end of the earth even unto the other
end of the earth: they shall not be lamented,
neither gathered, nor buried; they shall be
dung upon the face of the earth. " Jer 25;33

Ezekiel prophesied against Egypt with threats of casting her unto the birds of the heavens.

"And I will cast thee forth into the wilderness,
thee and all of the fish of thy rivers; thou
shalt fall upon the open field; thou shalt not be
brought together, nor gathered; I have given thee
for food ~~of~~ to the beasts of the earth and to the
birds of the heavens." Ezekiel 29;5

The violation of the tombs and the burning of their contents was considered a terrible calamity. Josiah when he was carrying out his reforms took the bones of the enemies from the sepulchres and burned them.

"And as Josiah turned himself, he spied
the sepulchres that were there in the
mount; and he sent and took the bones
out of the sepulchres, and burned them

upon the altar, and defiled it, according to the word of Jehovah which the man of God proclaimed -----" 11 Kings 23;16

Amos pronounced judgement against Moab because she had burned the bones of the king of Edom.

Thus saith Jehovah: for three transgressions of Moab, yea, for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because he burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime." Amos 2;1

There was something sacred about the family burying ground to the Hebrew. It was his desire to be buried in the family graves.

"And when Ahitophel saw that his council was not followed, he suddenly saddled his ass, and arose, and gat him home, unto his city, and set his city in order, and hanged himself; and he died, and was buried in the sepulchre of his father." 11 Sam. 17;23

"And they buried the bones of Saul and Jonathan his son in the country of Benjamin in Zela, in the sepulchre of Kish his father: and they performed all that the king commanded. And after that God was entreated for the land." 11 Sam 21;24

Exclusion of burial from the family graves was considered a severe punishment. Absalom was buried in the forest after he was killed by the servant of David.

"And they took Absalom, and cast him into the great pit in the forest, and raised over him a very great heap of stones: and all of Israel fled everyone to his tent. " 11 Sam. 21;14 18;16

Because the 'man of God' who prophesied to Jeroboam was not faithful to his commandments from Jehovah, he was told that by the second prophet that he should not be buried in the sepulchre of his fathers.

"-----forasmuch as thou hast been disobedient to the mouth of Jehovah, and hast not kept the commandment which Jehovah thy God commanded thee, but camest back, and hast eaten bread and drunk water in the place of which he said to thee, eat no bread and drink no water; thy body shall not come unto the sepulchre of thy fathers." 1 Kings 13;21-22

Paton thinks that these beliefs concerning the graves and the care of the graves indicate that the Hebrews, like other primitive people, believed that in some way the soul lingered near the corpse, and by burial in the family tomb the soul would enjoy the fellowship of the relatives.(a)

Paton thinks that the original Hebrew thought connected the dead only with the tomb. He would ~~not~~ make the belief in Sheol of Sumerian origin. If so it was adopted by the Caanites and from them it came to the Hebrews. Peters believes this opinion cannot be warranted by the facts that we have. He thinks that Sheol and the tomb were ~~connected~~ combined from the beginning of our knowledge and continue to be in the worship at the tombs and in the beliefs in future life to the present day in the same regions. (a)

Davidson thinks that the connection between the body and the soul was not strong enough to interfere with the soul passing into Sheol. The want of burial was dishonoring to the one who passed into the lower world. It reflected upon the condition of the unburied one in the estimation of those who were already in Sheol. Passages which refer to the connection of the body and the soul only infer that the body was still a part of man and not mere common and unrelated dust. (b).

Dean Knudson thinks that the primitive idea of the tomb as the abode of the dead never was displaced by the idea of Sheol. The two ideas continued to exist together. This is the case with practically throughout the Old Testament. The dead is represented as being gathered to the father's grave and at the same time as going down to Sheol. The tendency of thought was to confuse the two ideas and treat them as interchangeable. (c).

The conclusion of the matter seems to be that in Hebrew thought the grave and the future life could not be separated. It has been noted before that the Hebrew conception of Sheol was influenced largely by the death and the grave. On the other hand the body and the souls could not be separated in the mind of the Hebrews. To have done this would have led them beyond their mode and level of thinking. Their thought paralleled that of the Babylonians and the Egyptians in many respects concerning the future life. To these peoples the body and the soul were quite closely connected, but they had no hesitation in assigning the spirit

a Peters Religion of the Hebrews pp 451f

b--Davidson Theology of the O.T pp 429

c-- Knudson Religious Teachings of the O.T. pp 396

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The practice of necromancy was carried on from an early date in the history of the religion of the Hebrews. This was an effort to communicate with the dead. The witch of Endor was able by art to raise the shade of Samuel from Sheol so it could be interrogated concerning the future. (1 Sam. 28)

Such practices, however, were early prohibited by the religion of Yahweh. In Deut. 18;10-11 everyone is forbidden to consult a ghost or a spirit.

"There shall not be found with thee any one that maketh his son or daughter to pass through the fire, one that useth divination, one that practice augury, or an enchanter, or a sorcerer, or a charmer, or a consulter with a familiar, spirit, or a wizard, or a necromancer."

Reference to the practice is likely referred to in Psalm 106;28.

"They that joined themselves also unto Baal-peor and ate the sacrifices of the dead."

The persistence of the practice in spite of laws to the contrary was likely due to the fact that the spirits of the dead were able to help the living. It has been mentioned before that it was believed that the spirits took on new powers after death and were in many instances able to help the living. As monotheism developed opposition to necromancy increased because Jehovah would admit no rivals, even in the spirit world.

Summary of Chapter 1

Since there have been summaries made at the end of subjects which seemed to need a brief summary, there will be but a brief review of chapter 1 in this place. But it seems necessary to summarize in a few words the discussion thus far.

In the first place let us recall that Sheol was thought to be located under the earth. This belief was common among practically all of the primitive people. As a cave, a pit, or an under ground city, it was a place of darkness and silence. This idea was a Hebrew idea and also held among the Babylonians. To the Hebrew mind Sheol was a hopeless place. All communication with God was cut off. There would be no praise to Jehovah. As a consequence of this condition Jehovah would not be glori-

fied. Sheol was completely cut off from God in the earlier thought. There was no return from the land of Sheol. A similar idea is found in the thought of the Babylonians.

There are passages which suggest that there might be social distinctions in Sheol similar to those made on earth, but the popular thought seemed to be that all men went down to Sheol and were equal there. In Egyptian thought there were kings over the world of the dead, but this idea did not prevail among the Hebrews.

Earliest conceptions among the Hebrews were that Yahwe had no concern for the inhabitants of Sheol. He was a national god and all places outside of Israel were out of his control. But the same influences which spread the idea that Yahweh was more than a national god and ultimately established monotheism, also aided in bringing about the idea that Yahweh had power over Sheol also. By the time of the eighth century prophets this idea was fairly well established in a speculative way. The exilic and post-exilic established the belief thoroughly that Jehovah was God of the dead as well as the living and nothing was beyond his scrutiny.

Aralu was the name for the abode of the dead among the Babylonians. The origin of the name is uncertain. It likely originated from the idea of a large cave. Our knowledge of their conception is derived mainly from three sources, namely, "The Epic of Gilgamesh", "The Descent of Ishtar", and "The Legend of Nergal and Ereshkigal". The general conclusion to be drawn from these sources is that life in Aralu is a dark and shadowy existence. There is no return from the place. It is ruled over by harsh wards who suspicion the inhabitants. The place is ~~gar gau~~ guarded by many doors.

The ideas of the future life among the Egyptians is rather confusion because of the uncertainty of the texts. Our main source is the "Book of the Dead." This is one of the oldest pieces of literature in the world. The thing which strikes us most in regard to the Egyptian people is the fact of their historic stability. Their civilization can be traced back 4000 years before Christ. Among this people

1860. The first was especially the old time and to the younger people.

as before and the same in 1860. A similar thing is found in the people of the

people.

There are many things which suggest that there is a great change in

the world in those parts of the world, but the change is not in the same way

and not even in the same way. The change is not in the same way

and the world is not the same, but this is not the case.

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There are many things which suggest that there is a great change in

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the worship of God, and the fears and hopes of the future played a large part in their life.

The land of the dead is pictured much as life here on earth. The land has a large river running through it. On the river sails the boats of the sun-god. The place can be reached only if ~~the~~ certain formulae can be repeated. The kings of ~~the~~ the land are on equal terms with the sun-god. The people carry on agriculture there and enjoy their family life.

To the Old Testament writers man was made in the image of God. "He was made for fellowship with God. This fellowship was the highest life. The thought of fellowship with God cast ~~all~~ the thought of the future into the background. But death was a fact and it had to be accounted for. This could be accounted for only as the result of sin on the part of man. The result was that death was the reward of wickedness and long life was the reward of righteousness. Life was the continued life with God. Death was a denial of the presence of God.

The principle in God when breathed into the nostrils of man insured life to the latter. When this was withdrawn life ceased. The soul of man was the seat of his individuality. It was the immortal part of man. It was the seat of man's appetites, knowledge, and volitional nature. This soul was that which lived on, but it lost these things because the principle of God was withdrawn from it. The ^t result was that the personality became a shade. In the earlier Hebrew thought blood and the nefesh were closely related because of the thought that the blood was the seat of life. In late thought the spirit and the person were identical.

The central thought in the Egyptian thought concerning the soul was the conception of the Ka, or soul, which lived on. It was independent of the body, yet very closely connected with the body. To the Ka prayers and offerings were made. The body was dependent upon the Ka for life in spite of the fact that there was no Ka before the birth of the person. The Ka was united with the body in the other world only after varied experiences on the part of the Ka. Around the idea of the

Ka there grew up the many practices of formulae, incantations, burial regulations, and other practices which has made the religion of the Egyptians seem ver^y complex. Among the Egyptians as well as other p̄imitive people burial customs were strict. The idea of the close connection of the soul and the body led to the building of tombs and the embalming practices which continue to be the wonders of the world.

Among the Greeks and the Romans proper burial was thought to be very necessary. We find that it was no less emphasized among the Hebrews. The Hebrews thought it a dishonor to have a body remain unburied. Foes were left unburied as a curse upon them, but even criminals were buried. The family burying ground was held in reverence by the Hebrews. Some think this was done because of the belief that if a person was buried in the family burying ground he could communicate with his relatives in the other world. Others think ~~it~~ that proper burial was emphasized so much because of the belief that the spirit and the tomb or grave was so closely connected in Hebrew thought.

The conclusion seems to be that the Hebrews did consider it a curse not to be buried in the family burying ground. There was much importance attached to proper burial. The tomb and the body was not clearly separated in Hebrew thought. Neither were ~~was~~ the soul and the body separated in their thought. But if the spirit was thought to wander near or even dwell in the tombs, it did not eliminate the idea of the personality descending into Sheol. In popular thought the two ideas were used interchangeable. The Egyptians and the Babylonians believed in close relationship of the soul and body but they did not hesitate to assign a ~~se~~ lower world for the home of the dead p̄pirits. The same is true of the Hebrews.

Chapter 11

Development of the Idea of Immortality Among the Hebrews

"No subject connected with ~~the~~ his psychic life has so engrossed the mind of man as that of his condition after death. Savages in all regions of the world have generally very clear and vivid conceptions of the spirit world, its life, its characteristics, its landscapes, and this suggests an intense preoccupation with the subject." (a)

The idea of some form of existence beyond death seems to be an inherent idea among all people. Salmond says, "There is the fact that so far as investigations have gone, belief in some sort of existence after death is found to be a catholic belief of humanity." (b). M. Renouff ~~furthe~~ further says, "A belief in the persistence of life after death and the observation of religious practices founded upon the belief, may be discovered in every part of the world, in every age, and among men representing every degree and variety of culture." (c).

The idea of the ~~future~~ existence among primitive people has limitations in as much as the future life is limited to their own people and they do not trouble themselves with other races unless they make the souls of their enemies slaves or allot their souls to an evil destiny. Further limitation in primitive conceptions may be that continued life belongs only to men of rank and the souls of the common people become extinct at death. Or continued life may belong ~~el~~ only to the good and absolute cessation of being may be the lot of the wicked.

The origin of the belief in future life among people cannot be determined. It seems to be a second nature with man. The belief in the future life does not

- a-- Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Vol 18 pp 817
- b-- Salmond Christian Belief in Immortality pp 12
- c-- M Renouff Hibbert Lectures pp 124

assure us that primitive people had clear conceptions as to the nature of the dead; descriptions would prove quite the contrary. A few quotations from Hastings "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics" Vol 18 page 817 ff will show just how vague the ideas of the spiritual world was. On the other hand it will show the persistence of the belief in the future life among primitive peoples.

The Nagas people of E. Assam are doubtful as to whether the spirit remains in the corpse, at the grave, or goes to a far country. Some think that it goes to a high hill to the west. Others think the spirits dwell in the monuments near the village. Others think that they the spirits go to an underworld and there they die, transcend time, and then go to a lower ~~world~~ state. They die there again and return to earth as a butterfly or small house-fly and then perish forever. Journal of Anthropological Institute XXXI1 (1902) pp 463.

Many of the Bantu tribes of Africa appear to have little or no idea of the future place for the souls. "Among the Wagogo people of East Africa, though spirits are worshipped, little is known of the spirit land, but there may exist some belief in transmigration." Ibid 32,328

"Several American Indian tribes regard the state of the dead as differing but little from that of men here, but the general belief is that it is better, or, again, that there is a division between souls on various grounds." Hastings p 821.

"The future state, according to the Sioux Ghost dance religion, will be such that the whole Indian ~~tribe~~ race, living and dead, will be reunited on a regenerated earth to live a life of happiness, free from death, sickness, and misery. Each apostle of this religion has filled in the details according to his mental capacity and his ideas of happiness." 14th Report of the Bureau of Ethnology Washington D.C 1896 pp 777

The references above show more than the widespread belief in continued existence after death. They show germs of thought concerning the future life which are carried to conclusions in the Hebrew thought. The very nature of the Hebrew

religion made their conclusions inevitable. The enlarging ideas of their religion were due to their conception of their God as universal and interested in the dead as well as the living. "When there is no belief in a God, disbelief in a life beyond the grave is natural. But Israel's faith in God was the guarantee of Israel's faith in a hereafter-----." (a)

The Hebrew faith holds in common with the beliefs of other people that there is a continuation of personality beyond the grave. This personality may be reduced to a shade, but it has some characteristics which enables it to be called a personality. The idea of a personal God raised the ~~dee~~ Hebraic doctrine of the future above all other people.

It must be remembered that the idea of Sheol as has been described before in the preceding pages was always at the back of any doctrine of future life that was propagated by the Old Testament writers. Sheol is the rendezvous for any further excursions of the soul which ^a resurrection or any other existence might produce. In the early stages of the religion of Israel there ~~is-the~~ were the rudiments of immortality. But the reference we have of the idea seems to indicate mere possibilities. For example in the story of the tree of life in Genesis 3;22 if there is implied the belief that man was made for immortal life but failed because of disobedience. In the stories of the translation of Enoch (Gen. 5;22-24) and Elijah (11 Kings 2;11) there is the possibility of immortal life at least for the heroes. ~~This-doctrine~~ There was no general doctrine of immortality suggested from these stories, but they do show that the thought of escape from death was possible and that the life to come depended upon the life with God.

In this connection turn again to the "Epic of Gilgamesh" which was discussed in some measure on page 23 of this paper. ~~and~~ In this epic is found an implication in Babylonian thought which some scholars connect with the story in the second chapter of Genesis. In this story, if we recall, the hero Gilgamesh searches for immortality. He makes his way to Ut-Napishtim who has been raised to the station of

a. Salmon "Christian Doctrine of Immortality" p. 168

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of a god in the land of the dead. He relates to Gilgamesh the story of a flood which seems to be the Babylonian counterpart of the Hebrew flood story. Ut-Napistim corresponds to Noah.

Ut- Napistim was saved in the ship which he built. He and his wife was made to dwell 'in the distance, at the confluence of the streams', a locality thinks Burney, which corresponds to the biblical Eden. Ut-Napistim sends Gilgamesh in search of an herb called ~~is~~ sibu issahik amelu which means, when old a man becomes young. Those who eat this herb will obtain immortality. Gilgamesh finds the herb, but while he is bathing a serpent steals the herb and Gilgamesh loses the hope of immortality.

This Babylonian story illustrates the fact that there early existed ~~the~~ speculations as to man's failure to obtain the immortality which was the lot of the gods. Also in the case of Elijah and Enoch death was escaped, but arguing from the particular gives no just conclusion as to the belief in immortality for all. In Isaiah 14;13-14 there may be ~~the~~ implication that the Babylonian king expected to be exalted to the mount of the gods.

"And thou saidst in thy heart, I will ascend into heaven,
I will exalt ~~thee~~ my throne above the stars of God; and
I will sit upon the mount of the congregation, in the
uttermost parts of the ~~earth~~ north; I will ascend above ~~the-heights~~
the heights of the clouds; I will make myself like the
Most High."

If reference is made here to hope beyond the grave, it removes hopes for a brighter future far from ordinary humanity. Their hope had to be developed later.

The belief that personalities might be raised from the oblivious state in Sheol and given their places of merit according to their moral distinctions was a gradual process of thought. Immortality as it is being used in these pages is the moral or spiritual content which is given to the personalty which is generally absent in the idea of mere existence. Immortality implies a moral worth which adds a dignity to the human soul which mere existence in Sheol does not imply.

Much of the Old Testament is taken up ~~in-the~~ with the thought of the nation. Until rather late in the history of prophecy the individual was lost sight of more

because of the tremendous hold that the thought of race solidarity had upon the thought of the nation.

Nationalism

The first form in which we find the idea of immortality is in connection with the race or nation of Israel. Race solidarity might take the form of nation, tribe, or family solidarity. The eschatology of the individual receives far less attention in the Old Testament than the nation. The Old Testament almost close before the belief in personal immortality is a conviction.

The earliest belief concerning race immortality was the idea of continuation of life through posterity. The individual continued to live in the fuller life of his people. Life through the children naturally produced the belief that numerous posterity was a blessing to man. This idea is expressed in Job 5:25.

"Thou shalt know also that thy seed
shall be great,
And thine offspring as the
grass of the earth."

The E document which was written around 750 B.C. gives the idea that the iniquity of the parents was visited upon the children.

"Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

Thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them,
nor serve them; for I Jehovah thy God am a
jealous God, visiting the iniquities of the
fathers upon the children, upon the third
and upon the fourth generation of them that
hate me." Exodus 20:3 and 5.

The nation was thought to be indestructable because of its relation to Yahweh. The individual of course was not entirely lost sight of in the prevailing idea of the nation, but he was much in the background. The individual faced death feeling that he had received the blessings of God in life. Long life was the indication that God was with him. He consoled himself with the idea that the memory of his righteousness would continue to live in his children and in the life of his people.

The prophets were concerned primarily with the nation and its outcome. With this idea was connected the doctrine of the Messianic hope in which the redeemed Israel would be given all of the powers over enemies which other nations had exercised over Israel in the past. Drawn from this hope was the idea of the advent of God, the universal judgment which was connected with the 'Day of the Lord', and back of all of these thoughts was the idea ~~that~~ of the incoming of the perfect kingdom of God. All of Israel would be saved and the presence of God in their midst would assure them a state of blessedness which would be eternal. When the prophets speak of the new heaven and the new earth, they have in mind the nation. Erito-Isaiah which comes from the Apocalyptic writings refers to the new new heaven and the new earth with the nation in mind.

"For, behold, I create new heavens and a new earth;
and the former things will not be remembered,
nor come into mind." Isa 65;17.

But we must not forget that the individual was not entirely forgotten in the most nationalistic conceptions. In many instances the individualistic and the nationalistic idea is so mingled until the distinction is hard to make. In the familiar Psalm 23 there is a mingling of the idea of the individual and the nation. This Psalm comes from the Persian Period. Jehovah is thought of as the shepherd of the nation. But the author feels that what can be said of the nation can be also said of the individual. What Jehovah does is done for the redemption of his people.

The conclusion as to the national hope seems to be that up to the third or fourth centuries B.C. the national hope overshadowed the individual hope. The two, however, were never entirely separated in Hebrew thought. As long as Jehovah was thought of as a national deity, the national hope was supreme. But with the break up of the nation and the dissatisfaction of the individual increased, it became necessary to find an explanation outside of God's concern for the nation. This necessity gave rise to the doctrine of individualism.

Individualism

With the destruction of Israel in 721 B.C. and the destruction of Judah in 587 B.C. the ideas concerning the stability of the nation begin to be questioned. The result of questioning was the recognition of the value of the individual. Consequently the ~~id~~ individual began to take ~~pde~~ precedence over the nation in Hebrew thought. Jeremiah came into prominence here and is called by some as the founder of religious individualism. He looked forward to a Messianic Kingdom which would take place after the chastisement of Israel had taken place. But to this prophet the moral generation of the nation must come about through the moral responsibility of the individual. The old proverb had been,

"The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge."

But Jeremiah said the proverb shall read from now on,

"But every one shall die for his own iniquity; every one that eateth sour grapes, his teeth shall be set on edge." Jer. 31;29.

Before the time of Jeremiah (around 588 B.C.) covenants had been understood to have been made with God on one side and the king or the nation on the other. Jeremiah made the covenant have an individual meaning. He said that the nation is not a unit. The new covenant is written on the hearts of the individual.

"But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days saith Jehovah: I will put my laws in their inward parts, and in their hearts will I write it; and I will be their God and they will be my people.

And they shall teach no more every man his neighbor, and every man his neighbor, saying, know Jehovah for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest of them, saith Jehovah; for I will forgive their iniquity, and ~~thier~~ their sins will I remember no more." Jer. 31;33--34

But it remained for Ezekiel to completely separate the individual from the nation, With this prophet democracy developed. The poor as well as the rich have a worth. He holds to the national hope, but he puts the individual in the forefront for responsibility. His teachings in chapter 18;1-4 are a protest against the older ~~view~~ proverbs which made the children responsible

for the sins of the parents.

"The word of Jehovah came unto me again, saying
What mean ye, that ye use this proverb concerning
the land of Israel, saying, the fathers have
eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are
set on edge?

As I live, saith the Lord Jehovah, ye shall
not have occasion anymore to use this proverb in
Israel.

Behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of
the father, so also the soul of the son is mine;
The soul that sinneth, it shall die."

So far as Ezekiel is concerned rewards and punishments are carried out here.
He knows nothing of future rewards and punishments. But by the time of the
prophets of Jeremiah and Ezekiel the individual had become so significant in
Hebrew thought that it took more than the hope of national future to satisfy
the questions which were being asked by those who could not make the old establish-
ed theories harmonize with life. Many of these questions could not be solved
with consideration of this life, therefore, the future must aid in the solution.

At this point was where the thought of immortality aided in the solu-
tion of the religious problem. The old idea of Sheol with its half-personal,
half-conscious, and gloomy existence was not inviting to those who thought of the
future. The prophets approached everything from the side of God. When this
was done there was no attempt to change the conception of Sheol, the tendency
was to let the thought fall into the background, and this is exactly what happened.
God had a purpose in all things and he ~~se~~ chose nations and individuals to help
carry out his purpose. The righteous ones were his chosen ones and they were the
ones who were to enjoy long fellowship with him.

The problem of suffering

The problem of the suffering of the righteous was and always will be a
problem which confronts the religious thinkers. ~~The~~ It had long been the belief
among the Hebrews that Jehovah gave long life to the righteous, and punished the
wicked with death. But in actual life it had not worked out that way. The wicked
prospered more and enjoyed as much happiness as the righteous. The righteous suf-

fered as much as the wicked. Destruction had come to the righteous nation, and righteous individuals were in the midst of pain and suffering.

Old and new conceptions of sin inevitably came into conflict. The prophets had preached an all powerful and an all wise God. If this was true both good and evil must come from him. If he is the God of right surely justice cannot allow the righteous to suffer the same existence in Sheol as the wicked. In this world it is an evident fact that the righteous get no reward for their efforts.

Jeremiah was the first to be perplexed deeply with the breakdown of the old theories of religion. ~~Enemise~~ Enemeis plotted against his life when he preached righteousness. He questioned God.

"Righteous art thou, O Jehovah, when I contend with thee; yet would I reason the cause with thee: whereof doth the way of the wicked prosper? Wherefore are all they at ease that deal very treacherously?

Thou hast planted them, yea, they have taken root; they grow, yea, they bring forth fruit: thou art near in their mouth, and far from their heart.

But thou, O Jehovah, knowest me; thou seest me, and triest my heart towards thee: pull them out like sheep for the slaughter, and prepare them for the day of slaughter." Jer. 12;1-3

About 600 B.C. the prophet Habakkuk was dealing with the growing empire of Babylon. He was also puzzled with the problem of justice for the righteous. His cry is that justice is perverted.

"O Jehovah, How long shall I cry and thou wilt not hear? I cry unto thee of violence, and thou wilt not save.

Why dost thou show me iniquity, and look upon perverseness? For destruction and violence ~~is~~ are before me; and there is strife, and contention riseth up.

Therefore the law is slacked, and justice doth never go forth; for the wicked doth compass about the righteous; therefore justice goeth forth perverted." Hab. 1;2-4

The problem of suffering repeatedly presents itself in the Psalms. There it takes the form of a prayer rather than a treatise for the edification of suffering Israel. There conviction seems to bet hat Jehovah will vindicate his cause in this life sooner or later. The wicked will be punished. The idea of geed ultimate good in this life is expressed in Psalm 27;14

"I do believe that I shall yet see
the Eternal good to me, in the land
of the living." Moffatt

But it is in the Book of Job that we find the problem of suffering studied indetail. Job represents the typical righteous man. In the midst of prosperity he is overtaken with calamity. His friends cannot console him. They take the old view that suffering is the result of sin. They urge Job to examine himself and make repentance to God. Job repudiates the charge which has been unjustly brought against him by the friends. There is something down deep in his soul which convinces him that he is and has been a righteous man andhis sufferings must be accounted for in some other way. He assumes that retribution is the principle of divine government. But he is assured that it is not equitably applied in his case. The law could not be reconciled with his own experience, therefore he must look elsewhere for solution of the question.

In chapters 31 through 38 of the Book of Job the argument is briefly as follows. The greatness of God is witnessed by animate and inanimate nature. This is beyond man's apprehension. God's resources are infinite. Nothing is beyond his power. There are such things as disinterested piety and undeserved piety. Suffering may be a discipline for character building. He thinks that possibly the solution lies in the future.

But when he turns his thoughts to the future, the old thoughts of Sheol comes before him and there is hopafulness. There is no return from Sheol.

"As the cloud is consumed and ~~gone~~ vanisheth away,
So he that goeth down to Sheol shall come up no more.
He shall return no more to his house,
Neither shall his place know him no more." Job 7;9-10

Sheol offers nothing but darkness and silence.

"So man lieth down and riseth not:
Till the heavens be no more, they shall
not awake, nor be aroused out of their
sleep." Job 14;12

Faced with such dreariness, and the pangs of injustice burning within him, Job demanded future life to solve his problem of suffering. And there seems to be a transient imagination of the future life leap into his mind. He raises the question of immortality. If immortality was possible he would do or bear anything at present. He cries and questions.

"Oh that thou wouldst hide me in Sheol,
that thou wouldst keep me secret until
thy wrath be past, That thou wouldst appoint me
a set time, and remember me!

If a man die shall he live again?
All the days of my warfare would I wait,
till my release should come.

Thou wouldst call and I would answer
thee: Thou wouldst have a desire to the
work of thy hands." Job 14;13-15

Here the author is working out the idea of God on a high plane. Here is a daring and fresh thought. Job is going down to Sheol possibly some day the anger of God will be spent. Some day possible the love of God will summons him back again. The thought here is of a God who is hiding this man in a dark underworld for awhile but possibly God loves him still and will bring him up again in his own good time. With this in mind, "---he will be content to endure his unendurable anguish, sustained by the thought of that ineffable meeting with which his now reconciled God, who has been yearning for Job as passionately as Job for him." "We see here the will to believe, the slow struggle of the soul towards a faith in immortality, and we shall see more of it." (a) Sheol is but the temporary place of adjourn from which the righteous will return again to life. But such ideas are only temporary at this stage. He is again thrown into moral anguish.

Job turns from the God of tradition and pleads his cause before the God the
a J.E. McFadyen The Problem of Pain pp 93.

the ideal. There he pleads for vindication. In Job 16;20-22 there is implied ~~h~~ the thought of the possibility of vindication beyond death.

mine

"My friends scoff at me: But ~~my~~ eyes
poureth tears unto God,
That he would maintain the right of
a man with God, and of a son of a man
with his neighbor! For when a few years
are ~~gone~~ come, I shall go away whence
I shall not return."

In his deep contemplation of the future there rushes through his mind a conviction which ~~had~~ took away the sting of death and the victory of Sheol. This conviction for a moment at least assured him that God lived and all was well.

"But as for me I know that my Redeemer liveth,
and at last he will stand upon the earth: and
after my skin, even this body, is destroyed,
Then without my flesh shall I see God. ~~Job 19;25-27~~
Whom I, even I, shall see, on my side, and my
eyes shall behold, and not as a stranger.
My heart is consumed within me." Job 19; 25-27

The central idea in this passage is that Job looked forward to a conscious vindication after death. He felt driven by the moral antinomies of life to the conscious existence after death. His vision of God produced a faith which is one of the highest ventures in the book of Job. If God is the God of the living and the supreme good in life is communion with God, life should be as endless as God Himself. To think otherwise would make God less powerful than Sheol, weaker than his works, ~~and~~ or as himself defeating the very purpose of creation. Neither alternative is possible. There must be some deliverance from death. This idea is strongly implied in Job.

But the immortality Psalms which are four in number carry the idea further. The first of these Psalms is Psalm 16. Here a plea for preservation is made on the basis of relationship with God. Security in the present with God should insure security in the future with God. The sense of danger ~~when~~ ^{of} is overcome when the Psalmist feels that God will not give his soul into Sheol, or suffer his flesh to see the pit.

in this Psalm there is more~~th-n~~ than the expectation of deliverance from the terror of a particular occasion, but not a distinct and definite belief in a blessed immortality. There is the principle of the hope of immortality and also of the resurrection implied. Hope for the moment stretches beyond its limits and mounts to an assurance. His ~~God~~ presence with God gives joy. This joy guarantees its own continuation and the Psalmist feels that it is capable of transcending the darkness of Sheol. For the beloved of God, life with Him could not sink to the mere existence of Sheol.

In the second of the immortality Psalms, Psalm 17, the author finds ~~him~~ himself endangered by ungodly men. He is in moral peril. He cries to God for vengeance upon his enemies. He is assured by vision that there is something which outlasts life and outweighs earth's fulness. The main thought lies in the unreal and fugitive good apart from God as compared with the real and enduring good in the fellowship of God. The idea of immortality is implicit rather than explicit.

The magnitude and definiteness of hope depends upon the interpretation of "when I awake" in verse 15b. It has been variously taken to express the experience of a morning after a natural rest of the night, i.e. 'every morning when I awake' (H. Schultz), 'joy of communion with God' (Kirkpatrick), 'deliverance from a night of calamity' (Calvin). It seems that the present and the future life is not contrasted. There is nothing said of death. The writer feels himself lifted above death into the presence of God. The fact of Death and Sheol ~~is~~ not denied, it is merely overlooked.

In Psalm 49 which is the third of the immortality Psalms we have what amounts to the parting of the ways ~~of-the~~ between the men who trust in their wealth and those who have confidence in God. This parting is stated in sharp terms. The two part at death. Sheol is the lot of the wicked. At this stage in Hebrew thinking the righteous begin to fly and the wicked begin to descend. Sheol is not a fit place for life with God, therefore the wicked are assigned there and left since nothing worse can befall them. The outcome of the wicked ~~are~~ ^{is} carried

no farther than Sheol in Hebrew thought. The main thought of the Old Testament was the outcome of the righteous. The parting of the ways of the wicked and the righteous is described in Psalm 19;14

"They are appointed as a flock for Sheol;
Death shall be their shepherd: And the
upright shall have dominion over them
in the morning; and their beauty shall
be for Sheol to consume, that there may
be no habitation for it."

But heaven is the abode of the righteous. God ransoms them from Sheol and takes the redeemed ones to Himself above. In this Psalm hope reaches the assurance of a way upward through death to God. There is a difference among scholars as to whether the distinction between sinners and the righteous is limited to this life, or whether the Psalmist looked for a blessed immortality beyond death. It seems that Dr. Knudson has expressed the correct meaning of the Psalm. He thinks the statements in this Psalm are distinct statements relative to the future life. The ideas are valuable because of the moral character which is given to Sheol. It becomes a place for the punishment of the wicked in contrast to heaven which is the eternal abiding place of the righteous.(a)

Burney agrees with Dr. Knudson and further says that the author's views death as inevitable. Death cannot be influenced by riches. The author rounds off the idea with a refrain in verse 12,

"But man being in honor abideth not:
He is like the beasts that perish."

In the next section the author faces the beyond, and expresses a conviction of faith in what he expects is in store for the righteous in the life to come. Surely the righteous must expect more than they have received in this life. The phrase 'in the morning' which is found in verse 14, thinks Burney, refers to the resurrection morning.

"And the upright shall have dominion
over them in the morning." 14c.

In verse 15 the account of Enoch knowing not death because God took him is reiterated in substance in verse 15, thinks Burney. The same verbs are used.

"God shall ransom my soul
from the hands of Sheol
For he shall take me."

The verse implies a transcendence of death and Sheol because of the life with God.

The conclusion of Psalm forty-nine seems to be that in his meditations upon the lack of vindication for the righteous in this life, and in his vision of the righteousness and justice of God, the Psalmist was assured in his faith that beyond death there would be some just adjustment. The old conception of Sheol would be a just recompense for the wicked, but its darkness was more than a chosen one of God could expect from a God of the universe.

The fourth immortality Psalm is Psalm 73. In this Psalm we are met with the same problem of the prosperity of the wicked and the suffering of the righteous that is found in Psalms 37, 49 and also in Job. The author of Psalm 73 is baffled because God does not intervene for righteousness sake. In the midst of the problem he almost loses faith.

"But as for me, my feet were almost gone;
My steps had well nigh slipped.
For I was envious at the arrogant,
When I saw the prosperity of the wicked." ver. 2-3

He contrasts the position of the wicked with his own.

"Behold, these are the wicked; And belong
being always at ease, they increase in
riches. Surely in vain have I cleansed
my heart, and washed my hands in innocency;
For all the day long have I been plagued,
And chastened every morning." vs. 12-14

But with a little meditation he concludes that such a despairing mood is not the faith of a true Israelite. In his weakest faith he makes the severest trial of faith. He goes to the sanctuary and there finds a solution for his problems and a satisfaction from his worries.

"When I thought how I might know this,
it was a-powerful too painful for me;
until I went into the sanctuary of God,

It seems to me that the only way to solve this problem is to

try to find a way to make the system more efficient and to

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and considered their latter end.
 Surely thou settest them in slippery places:
 Thou cast them down to destruction.

 As a dream when one awaketh, So, O Lord,
 when thou awakest, thou wilt despise
 their image." vs 17--20

The explanation of this Psalm is similar to Psalm 37. The prosperity of the wicked is more apparent than real. Anemesis is waiting for them in their path. The foundation of the wicked will crumble. The solution is not final and altogether satisfactory. Neither life beyond the grave nor the moral mystery is made clear to the Psalmist. But in his worship he was seized with the conviction that communication with God was real. This conviction called forth a confession of trust which is possibly the highest venture of faith in the Old Testament.

"Nevertheless I am continually with thee;
 Thou hast holden my right hand.
 Thou wilt guide me with thy council,
 And afterwards receive me to glory(23-24) "
 "My flesh and my heart faileth;
 But God is the strength of my heart and
 my portion forever." v 26.

This writer is assured that existence with God on earth in heaven is a blessed state. But the hope of life with God leads him above the earth. Heart and flesh may perish but he has a fellowship with God which must have a future other than Sheol. The rebellion against Sheol in all Hebrew thought has been the idea that all fellowship with God was cut off there. The high mountain of faith in the mind of this Psalmist left death and Sheol in the background. Here, "Faith makes its bold venture, negating the thought of severance from God Jehovah, overleaping the world underworld, and looking to God to 'take' His saint, as He 'took' Enoch, who 'walked with Him'. (a) "-----But for faith the name of Jahweh had already profound yet transparent meaning depth of meaning which carried the thoughts of the poet away beyond Hades into eternal life." Delitzsch.

Burney sums up the conclusion of the Psalms on the question of immortality

by saying that the Psalms offer little or nothing in-~~the~~ which takes the shape of a definite formulated belief in a life beyond the grave, in which the anomalies of the present life will be explained or set right. On the other hand the Psalms illustrate more forceably than any part of the Old Testament the height to which faith was capable of rising under the sense of communion with God. So the Psalms provide the fruitful soil out of which the doctrine of a personal immortality in the enjoyment of the society of God was later to be developed. (a)

Adam C. Welch says, "At the close of the Old Testament Canon immortality was not a doctrine definitely held and taught by Judaism, as i.e. the unity of God was held and taught. It was rather the necessary consequence of the conviction on the nature of God which the Jews believed: as such, its force was only felt by men who profoundly professed these convictions. Hence the faith in immortality only made its way among the men who were religiously alive." (b)

Now for a moment we will consider the conception of immortality as it was generally believed among the ~~Hebrew~~ Egyptians. The following thoughts on this subject will follow close the opinion expressed by Reisner in his book "Egyptian Conception of Immortality". The essential idea was that the spirit of man preserved the personality and the form of the man after death. This spirit had the same desires and the same needs as the man had in life. But in the earthly life all things could not be controlled by men. For example, the rising of the Nile River, the onslaught of the enemies, and the bites of poisonous snakes were beyond man's control. Magic alone could help in these matters. Magic took the form of set words which were to be spoken in the proper manner, thus spoken they would have power over unseen influences.

This idea was transferred into the realm of the dead. Human hands could offer food and drink to the deceased, but there must also be magic words offered with which to meet the evils of the future. As a result of this belief, magic became a prominent idea in religious thought concerning the future life.

a Barry Israel's Hagg, Immortality PK7
b. Marchant Immortality

In fact magic became so prominent til it seems to have overshadowed the thought of the future life as religion developed. At first the magic provision was only for the kings. They were supposed to claim a certain divinity on the earth. The idea of the existence of the gods was never clear in Egyptian thinking.

To the Egyptian mind, a distinct place on earth justified a similar place in the future world if all proper prayers were said and all formulae were carried out. Gradually the thought was extended to others than the king. After the Pyramid Age, Egypt broke up into a feudal system. This influenced religious thought of the future ~~theug~~ life by giving hope to the nobles. In the New Empire the power was gradually absorbed by the priestly organization of the national religion. Under this system the priest obtained for himself an exceptional place in the future life, but the Osiron burial custom spread even among the people. But mumification was still only for the rich.

The moral idea of the future life among the Egyptians was that powerful words could compel the great judge of the dead to return favorable verdicts. There were magical hearts of stone which might be worn in place of the heart and laid in the scales by Anubis. By words Anubis might accept the stone heart instead of the real heart.

Generally speaking the idea of immortality had little influence upon the life of the people as a whole. Their moral code was simple and not different from those of other primitive people. The people had their sins and their virtues. The ^{were} common herd ~~was~~ driven by necessity and lived as they could, clinging to the belief in ~~the~~ life in the grave. The greater people had time to learn ~~te~~ and make provision for the necessary magic to secure a comfortable future life. "It was a religion for the exceptional man down to the last; it required training and knowledge". "Not until Christianity came, offering eternal life free and without price did the common people find at least a road open to equal immortality with the great men of the earth." (a)

The idea of the future life among the Egyptians can be traced back 4000 years. It can be read on their oldest monuments and documents. But the origin of the belief of future life with a definite conception of a retributive future is not easy to discover. There is little trace of it in the time of the Old Empire or in the Middle Empire. But in the New Empire (around 1580 B.C.) all is different. The thought of judgement and the belief in awards according to good and evil in the present life everywhere declare themselves. The emphasis on the idea at this time was likely due to the increased power of their religion as compared with the power of their religion at an earlier date. Religion now covered the whole field of life, and the conception of immortality was due to the advance in religious thought.

In the light of Babylonian and Egyptian thoughts we are led to ask the question as to what influence, if any, did these countries have on molding the religious ideas of future life among the Old Testament writers. Confining our conclusions to the subject of future life, it seems that the ~~conclusion~~ conclusion of the majority of scholars is that ~~to assume that~~ the facts which we have in hand do not justify the assumption that the Old Testament idea of immortality was taken over from the Ethnic faiths. Nor ~~is~~ was the Old Testament heavy debtors to Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, or Greece for ideas concerning the future life. There is little doubt that ideas and beliefs of the other countries stimulated and in some ways directed the belief and the form of Hebrew thought, but in the foundation and in the essential points of development the Old Testament bears the marks of originality. In the Old Testament we find enough material within itself to warrant most distinctions in the various stages concerning the teachings of future life.

In the light of the old conception of Sheol, there was little question of the retributive life beyond the grave. But as the idea of God expanded and the conception of immortality dawned, the question of retribution was bound to arise. This idea was hastened and given a moral content because of the powerful theism of the

Scriptures and of the people. God was all in all. Events were His immediate works. One God and one world would necessarily demand that He be everywhere. The world was morally constituted and all things worked together for a moral end.

Israel believed that retribution prevailed in this world and was seen here and now. This was the universal faith of the people. In the Book of Proverbs there is hardly a complaint regarding any anomaly of providence, any infelicity of the righteous, or any prosperity or felicity of the wicked. We find a complaint in Ecclesiastes, Job and some of the Psalms, but in the earlier literature faith in an inflexible retribution in this life prevails. This may be said to be the essence of the prophetic teachings, tempered and balanced by God's mercy and purpose of grace towards which His righteousness in retribution worked.

But the idea of retribution on earth was not satisfactory ~~to the~~ after the state met its downfall at the hands of enemies. In this disaster the religious suffered most of all.

"Yea for thy sakes are we killed all day long;
We are counted as sheep for the slaughter." Ps. 44;22

Wickedness was ascribed to God Himself.

"The earth is given into the hands of the wicked;
He coverth the face^s of the judges thereof:
If it be not he, who then is it?" Job 9;24

In the above lines God is considered an arbitrary despot. But from this idea faith swings to the heights of the immortality Psalms and the high points of faith which we have pointed out in Job. Whether or not we interpret the meaning in these high points of faith to mean retribution on the earth or beyond the grave, ^{God} they signify that with the righteousness of man is recognized and rewarded in accordance.

The great idea in the Old Testament is the Kingdom of God on earth and within this kingdom there would be rewards and punishments. The Old Testament is interested primarily in the destiny of the just. The destiny of the wicked

...and the people, but was all in all, ...
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is not pursued. The general thought seems to be, as was mentioned before, that Sheol is the destiny of the wicked. They can hope for nothing better apart from fellowship with God. In Sheol death is their shepherd. They die in the old sense of death and nothing is added in regard to them. There is no misery or positive torment. There is no intimation that their personalities cease or that they are annihilated. The righteous on the other hand swung clear of Sheol and lived in the light of God's fellowship. The ^{nature} ~~existence~~ of this life with God is not made clear but it is implied that it is just as happy and cheerful in enlarged proportion to the unhappy and uncheerful state in Sheol. In other words the thought changes from the idea of all people spending the after life in Sheol to the belief that this was the abode of the wicked, and the righteous lived at the other spiritual pole with God. The nature of life there was left to God. It could be no less than a direct contrast to life in Sheol. The important thing to be noted is the fact that the thought of ~~Shee~~ the nature of Sheol never changes. The thought of God and the individual's relation to Him is what makes the change.

With the Hebrew idea of retribution in mind, let us consider the Egyptian conception of retribution. To the justified the future life was a life similar to the life on the earth. The justified passed into the fields of Aaru, Aarru, or Ialu as they are variously called. In the Elysian plains they take up their old employment. Here is the beginning of rewards. Personalities can rise above the human order and take up various forms, such as the serpent, lotus-flower, and birds.

They can enter the society of the gods and there drink of the water of life. This process is usually represented by the goddess Nut pouring out the water of life from the interior of the sycamore tree. In a picture published by M. Chabes the deceased is shown kneeling before Osiris and receiving the water of life from a vessel under which is written, anch ba "that the soul may live." The picture is taken from a mummy of a priest 1200 B.C. (a)

The righteous become the spirits of light. They reach the point where the sun is born and go towards the circle of the gods, and enter back of the sun where they have the light of the glory of Osiris. They obtain perfection in the bosom of the sun. (a) "To be with the deity and be like him, is, even in this, the oldest development of the doctrine of immortality, what constitutes salvation." (b)

We must gather the ideas concerning the Egyptian belief of the wicked by considering the things over which the righteous triumphed, i.e. the block of execution, food of filth, the grasp of the "Devourer of the Under-world". Punishment has its various degrees and hell its various departments. The description of the fate of the wicked is expressed in terms denoting joylessness and misery. To the Egyptian mind there could be nothing less brilliant and full of loss than a land without a sun. Exclusion from light was used often to describe the fate of the wicked. "To sit in everlasting darkness--a phase that recalls the outer darkness of the gospels, and to be forgotten, were the most dreadful ideas to the mind of the good Egyptian, friend of light who his whole life long esteemed, no effort that he could make was too great, if he could thereby immortalize himself." (c)

Doctrine of the Resurrection in the Old Testament

There were three stages of development in the ideas of immortality in the Old Testament, namely, the idea of the abolition of death in the Messianic Age and the immortal hope for the individual; the idea of the pious soul's continued communication with God; and, lastly, the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. The last idea did not displace the other two in popular thought. Two ideas concerning the fate of the individual became prominent, namely, he went directly to heaven and continued an unbroken fellowship with God, or he descended into Sheol and remained there till the Resurrection Day. On that day he would be restored to the deserved life with God and man. (this refers to the righteous man).

a--Tiele History of Egyptian Religions pp 29, 70

b--Salmond Christian Doctrine of Immortality pp 63

c-- Ibid pp 64

The doctrine of the resurrection is another inevitable outcome of the nature of the God of Israel. The idea of the resurrection took the form of a national hope first. This thought was raised and propagated especially by the prophets. They dealt with ~~the~~ Israel as a nation chiefly. This idea is first found in simple form in the conception of a revived Israel. It was expressed by the prophet Hosea around 740 B.C.

"Come and let us return unto Jehovah; for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten and he will bind us up.

After two days will he revive us; on the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live before him." Hosea 6;1-2

This passage expresses the belief that if the people will come from their erring ways, they will live again in the sight of Jehovah.

Ezekiel writing some one hundred and fifty years later refers to the national resurrection in his vision of the dry bones in chapter 37. Israel's encouragement to return to the Lord expresses ~~the~~ itself ~~in~~ as springing from the assurance that Jehovah is the healer who will bind up, after two days revive them, and in the third day he will raise them up. There is difference of opinion as to whether nations or individuals are referred to in Ezekiel's vision. It seems that the nation at least forms the basis of the prophecy, but that would not eliminate the possibility of the implication of the individual resurrection.

In chapters 33 and 34 of Ezekiel the prophecies of restoration begin with the place of the prophet and ruler in the preparation for the event. In chapters 35 and 36 the land is rescued from the hand of the heathen. These chapters close with the prospect of a reawakening and reconstruction of the people. Under this reconstruction, Judah and Ephraim shall be one.

The opening of chapter 37 shows the final stage in the promise restitution. The people confess that the nation is gone,

"Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost;
We are cut off from our parts."

The valley of dry bones is the natural image of the people dead beyond all poss-

ibility of revival. The prophet has no answer whether such can live, but the prophesied in the name of the Lord, "Behold a rushing" (Probably a rushing sound of bones coming together----Smend). Here is the vision of a nation raised from the grave and reconstituted.

From the time of Jeremiah on the individual was considered too much to be ignored in any doctrine of the resurrection. It was but a short step from the doctrine of the resurrection of the nation to the belief in the resurrection of the individual. No theory which denied the saints of Israel a participation in the new heaven and the new earth which was to be established on earth could satisfy the Hebrew spirit and mind in later thought.

There had always been more or less an intangible connection between the body and the soul in Hebrew thought. Their psychology pictured man as having a divinely given soul which existed in a living body. Both body and soul ^{were} ~~was~~ necessary ~~for~~ to constitute life. The incapacity of the Hebrews to conceive of the soul apart from the body was one reason for the rise of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. Another reason for the rise of the doctrine was the hope for the Messianic Kingdom which was to be established on the earth. This hope had laid hold of the national consciousness to such an extent that it could not be set aside. The highest thought of Israel centered about the Messianic idea. If personal immortality was to grip the minds of the people and be a force in the religious life, it must in some way be connected with the belief in the coming kingdom of God. This idea made possible the belief in the resurrection of the body. Those who had died before the new era would be raised to life so they could share in the blessings of the new community.

Scholars are generally agreed that there are only two passages in the Old Testament which express direct opinion concerning the resurrection of the body. Both of these passages are found in the Apocalyptic writings. The first passage is found in Isaiah 26;19 which comes from the period between 332 and ³240 B.C.

a
"The dead shall live; my dead bodies shall rise.
Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust;

...of the body. The body is a complex of many parts, and the mind is a complex of many parts. The body is a complex of many parts, and the mind is a complex of many parts. The body is a complex of many parts, and the mind is a complex of many parts. The body is a complex of many parts, and the mind is a complex of many parts.

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for thy dew is as the dew of the herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the dead."

This passage expresses the belief in the resurrection of the bodies. The dead shall live again. They shall be restored to life in the new kingdom of God. It is not certain whether this means the resurrection of all of the Israelites or whether the righteous only are included. It is likely the latter. For in Isaiah 26;14 there seems to be reference to the idolatrous Israelites who have no hope of the resurrection.

"They are dead, they shall not live;
they are deceased, they shall not rise;
therefore hast thou visited and destroyed
them, and made all remembrance of them to perish."

The other passage which speaks of the resurrection of the body is found in Daniel 12;2. The Book of Daniel was written during the persecution of Antiochus Epihanes about 168 or 167 B.C It is likely the work of some individual who was faithful to the religion of Yahweh in the face of efforts to Hellenize the Jews. Verse twelve reads as follows;

"And many of them that sleep in the dust
of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, some to shame and everlasting contempt."

Here is the most definite, the most literal, and the largest expression of hope in the resurrection that is to be found in the Old Testament. It is to be a resurrection with distinct moral issues and a resurrection to an everlasting lot. But this hope is still a limited hope. Whether the 'many' here refers to all of the Israelites by way of "comparison with the still more innumerable heathen" (Ewald) or simply to 'the preeminently good and bad in Israel' (Charles), that is, the martyrs and apostolates, is uncertain. But in either case it is not a general resurrection, but one merely for the Israelites (Knudson). This seems to be the conclusion for this passage.

The positive religious conception which underlies the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead in Daniel is the restoration of the righteous to the communion of God and ~~the~~ to the righteous community.

You say the law is the law, and the law
shall not be broken.

This passage appears to be a quotation from the Bible. The text is somewhat faint and difficult to read, but it seems to be a statement about the law and its authority. The text is written in a formal, legalistic style, typical of the language used in the Bible.

And the law is the law, and the law
shall not be broken.

The other passage which appears to be a quotation from the Bible is found in the Book of Exodus. The text is also somewhat faint and difficult to read, but it seems to be a statement about the law and its authority. The text is written in a formal, legalistic style, typical of the language used in the Bible.

And the law is the law, and the law
shall not be broken.

There is no more doubt, the law is the law, and the law shall not be broken. This is the law of the Lord, and the law shall not be broken. The text is written in a formal, legalistic style, typical of the language used in the Bible.

The positive religious conviction which underlies the law is the conviction that the law is the law, and the law shall not be broken. This is the law of the Lord, and the law shall not be broken.

If the idea of the resurrection in Daniel applies to the wicked, they were to be raised to be punished. This would imply that the old conception of Sheol was still in mind, namely, it was a place of neither reward nor punishment. On the other hand if we believe that the righteous alone are implied, this suggests that Sheol is the temporary abode of the righteous, and the eternal abode of the wicked, and so relatively at least a place of punishment. The main idea is that the righteous will be raised to a retributive life with God in the new era. The outcome of the wicked is not of interest to the writer.

Salmond says that there was the idea of the resurrection of the body only in a limited sense among the Babylonians. This is inferred from the attributes of the god Marduk. This god had a singular place in the Babylonian pantheon, and seems like the Persian god Mithras, a form of the sun god. He is celebrated as the 'merciful one of the gods', the 'protector of the hearts of men', at once the healer of the sick and the restorer who "brings the dead to life". But the appeals that are made to him in both characters seem to keep within the limits of faith in incantations and life to which he raises is only life of the earth. (a)

Foreign influence on the Hebraic idea of the resurrection of the body seems to be well summed up in the words of Kuenen who held that, "The germs which lay hidden in Judaism were fertilized by contact with a religion in which they had arrived at maturity". (b) He refers here primarily to Persian influence.

The conclusion concerning the future life in the Old Testament is well summed up in the words of an author whose name and reference is not at hand. "--- the Old Testament lays the foundation for the doctrine of the future life given in the New, both on the cruder side of the Messianic resurrection, and on the purer more spiritual side, which is represented in the ultimate outlook of the Apostle Paul."

a--Salmond Christian Doctrine of Immortality -- pp 92

b-- Kuenen Religion of Israel Vol III pp 43

A Summary of the Discussion

The belief among the Hebrews centered around the thought that the world of the dead, or Sheol, as a place which was located somewhere below the earth. The origin of the conception is not known. The word Sheol probably comes from a root meaning hollow hand, hollow place, later Halle or hell. The subterranean place was sometimes called a cave and sometimes a pit. In the earlier stages of development we find similar conceptions among most all of the peoples of the world.

Life in Sheol was conceived of in many ways. These have been discussed too fully to need repeating here. The central idea, however, was the fact that the inhabitants of Sheol were cut off from communication with God. Sheol was similar in thought to the after world as conceived of by the Egyptians and the Babylonians.

Life to the Hebrew was fulfilled in the present. The fullest life conceivable was fellowship with God. The fulness of the present lessened the interest in the future. Death on the otherhand was conceived of in two ways, namely, as a thing natural to man, or an incident which was a result of sin. By nature man was born to be eternal, but because of sin death came into the world.

The soul was thought of as a ⁱⁿ part of man in which, the nature of breath, was the seat of life. The soul was the eternal part of man. Never in Hebrew thought was the soul and the body entirely separated. Because of this close relationship, there was strong emphasis placed upon the burial customs among the Hebrews as well as among the Babylonians and the Egyptians. There was a certain mystical connection between the dead and the living. This led to the practice of necromancy which was later opposed by Yahweism.

No race of men have been found which did not believe in some form of existence beyond the grave. The superiority of the concept among the Hebrews was due to their conception of God. We must always keep in mind the developing conception of God when we consider the conception of future life in the Old Testament.

In the Old Testament we find the rudiments of the belief in Immortality in the stories of the translation~~sef~~ of Elijah and Enoch. Similar thoughts are to be found in the Gilgamesh Epic in Babylonian literature. The earliest form of this hope in immortality is found in the continuation of the memory of the parents in the life of their children. This is further developed in their theories of the nation as the supreme thing in relation to God.

But experiences of the exile and personal dissatisfaction of the human soul forced the development of the consideration of the individual. The individual hope was increased because of the problem of the suffering of the righteous. The old theory had been that suffering was the result of sin and prosperity was the sign of Jehovah's favor. This theory did not harmonize with the real experiences of life. Jeremiah first raised the question of the suffering of the righteous. It became the theme of many of the Psalms and was treated in detail in the Book of Job. In all of these there was no definite conclusion, but there was a faith which pierced the mystery of death and gave assurance of retribution for the righteous beyond death if rewards were not given here.

Jehovah had come to be considered as a universal God by the time of the literary prophets. Nothing was beyond his power, not even Sheol. In the light of a personal and an all-powerful God, the doctrine of the resurrection was the inevitable outcome. The doctrine first took the form of national hope. This idea reached the climax in the vision of Ezekiel in chapter thirty-seven of his prophecy. The idea of the resurrection of the body was not entirely foreign in Old Testament thought at an early date, but it never reached full development until the time of the Apocalyptic literature.

In Isaiah around 330 B.C. and Daniel around 167B.C. the idea of the resurrection of the body reached highest thought. Here bodily resurrection was conceded because Hebrew thought could never separate the body and soul in any form of life. In all of their thought the old conception of Sheol was in the background. It was always a place of darkness and uncheerfulness. It became in late thought

the home of the wicked. But to the righteous who gained fellowship with Jehovah, Sheol lost its terrors because it had lost its powers. In the highest hopes of Daniel, the resurrection most likely ~~never~~ was conceived of only for the righteous Israelites-- ~~the~~ at the most only for the Israelites.

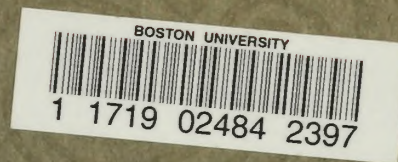
In the Old Testament there are few conclusions on the subject of the future life. But there were many convictions. The higher thought considered Sheol to be a place unfit for the righteous. Faith jumped from the cages of human thinking through the free impulse of intuition and assured its possessors, for the moment at least, that fellowship with God insured a hope which could mean immortality. This faith only pointed towards the fact. A similar faith pointed to the fact of the resurrection of the body, but was never developed to its final conclusion in the Old Testament. But from the Old Testament hopes and aspirations the early Christian disciples gathered enough conviction to convince them that the resurrection of Christ was the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy.

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